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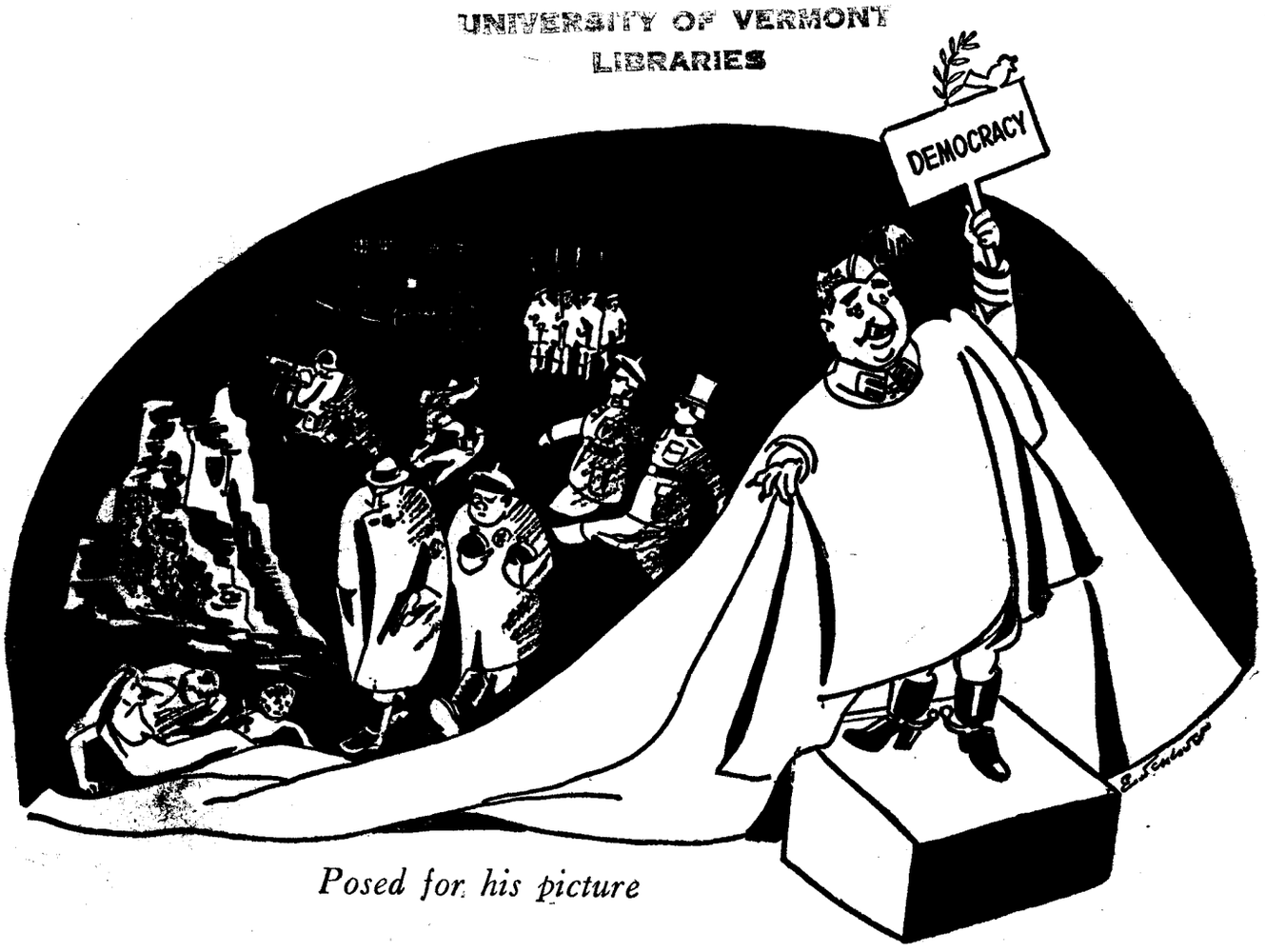

Posed for his picture

Operation Plunder

America's $21-Billion Ship Scandal

by ALLEN BERNARD

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PALESTINE: PROBLEM and PROMISE

By

ROBERT R. NATHAN, OSCAR GASS, DANIEL CREAMER

Indispensable: This monumental new study can well be considered the most definitive book ever written about the Jewish National Homeland. Authoritative, objective, and comprehensive, it is likely to remain the standard source of information on Palestine for many years to come. All who are concerned with the future of that troubled land will find it indispensable.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Americans for Franco

THE BIG BARRIER to decisive action on Franco, the block which the Security subcommittee investigating Spain will have to remove, is the sullen inertia of our own State Department.

By tiny, hesitant steps the Department has at last reached the point of rebuking Franco for the way in which his infamous regime was built and for his double-crossing role in the war. Yet whenever the time came for forthright action—anything that proved in itself determination to move boldly against him—the Department has run for cover. And this timidity contrasts markedly with the vigor of our stand on Iran or on Bulgaria.

Already this deep reluctance to act has muddied the Spanish issue before the Security Council. Yes, we have said, Franco got into power in reprehensible fashion, with Hitler and Mussolini as his sponsors. Of course, we have agreed, Franco did scheme with Berlin and Rome to plunge all Europe into fascism, and to help destroy the democratic nations.

But, we ask innocently, is Franco a danger this very minute? Is he really likely to invade France in defiance of the United Nations? Are Nazi scientists actually building atom bombs in Spanish plants?

Men who can ask questions like these see fascism as a physical threat (perhaps "rival" would be a more accurate word), but to them fascism as an ideology holds no horror. An authentic American passion for the universal freedoms for which we supposedly fought this war has not been shown in the Council.

You don't have to accept all the views of Russia's Andrei Gromyko to sense that the gentlemen of Britain, the Netherlands and China, along with us, share little of his heavy scorn for Fascist Franco. Discount his arguments as coming from a nation with its own axe to grind, and with a different conception of democracy from ours. It is, nevertheless, a tragedy for Americans that our representatives show tolerance for a regime which is at best a throwback to the Middle Ages, and at worst, the forerunner of the new fascism.

But it is not only Gromyko. The shame, for every American, must lie in the fact that the men of Franco Spain, too, have read the minds of our own men of power far more accurately than we have been willing to admit.

Last week Tomas Suner, Spanish Undersecretary of State, passed through New York en route to Madrid. It was in the midst of the debate on Spain and obviously he wanted a "good press" to counteract the things that were being said at Hunter College. Did he talk about Spanish democracy? The hopes of the people of Spain for a more decent life? The right of Spaniards to build a modern world out of church-ridden medievalism? The kind of thing that, presumably, should appeal to freedom-loving American statesmen?

No. Mr. Suner, instead, had this to say:

> Let no one be mistaken—the day that communism is planted in Spain, it will extend to Portugal, and the Mediterranean will be converted into a Soviet sea.

Unerringly, he knew how to reach the weak spot in the armor of the men who make our foreign policy.

Suner showed himself a master of the Goebbels technique, which we had thought we were done with. He showed with painful clarity the fears which beset our own government—fears which make the State Department willing, in the name of American democracy, to tolerate fascism, dictatorship, medievalism, rather than risk a popular upheaval that might plunge Spain into communism.

Agrarian reform, the right of men to learn to read and write, separation of Church and State, nationalization of heavy industry. Do we fear these things more than the perpetuation of a society based on the Middle Ages and sporting the trappings of Hitler and Mussolini? If we do, we have come far from the days of our own former thinking, and have lost the right to our old post in the vanguard of those who champion the rights of man.

One of these days the Security Council subcommittee is going to come up with a report on Franco. There is every indication that it will place him squarely in the camp of the enemy. It is by no means sure that it will be able to prove his immediate threat to the world. All the signs are that our own State Department, as well as

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a majority of the Council, will then sit back smugly and say, "Not proven."

If that happens, we shall have taken the first step down the road of a new fascist appeasement. It will be the beginning, once again, of the futility of Geneva. Spain is the touchstone of the will for democracy today, no less than it was in the days when Republican Spain vainly pleaded her case before the fearful men of the League and the Non-Intervention Committee.

For us, as Americans, it is more than a test of the United Nations. It is a test, too, of our own faith in the things we have stood for.

False Optimism on the Famine

The announcement that this year's U. S. wheat-crop estimates have again been revised—this time upward—is being accepted by many Americans as cause for viewing the world famine crisis with optimism. But such optimism can only be based on the illogical and false conclusion that because we may have more grain, the starving world has no cause for alarm.

The Agriculture Department's latest report, as interpreted by Secretary Anderson, means that, physically, we might be able to meet our commitments to UNRRA. At the most hopeful best, even if we should fulfill those obligations, there will still be great hunger in Europe and Asia. Herbert Hoover last week described China's food needs as "enormous"; he would not even attempt to estimate the number of starving millions. Chester C. Davis, chairman of the Famine Emergency Committee, which previously has preferred not to stress long-range food needs for fear of relaxing vigilance about the "120-day emergency," has now declared that a "soundly constructed program" should

REFORM CONGRESS NOW!

BY SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER AND REPRESENTATIVE ESTES KEFAUVER

More than two months have passed since the La-Follette-Monroney Committee submitted its excellent program for congressional reform. But Congress has since done little to carry out its comprehensive and courageous recommendations. The six Senate members of the Joint Committee have proposed that they be made a special committee with authority to receive, consider and report legislation relating to reorganization. But the proposal was still languishing in the Senate Rules Committee when this was written.

The plan is designed to keep the reform program under friendly auspices and to avoid splintering its integrated parts among many indifferent or uninformed committees that could otherwise claim jurisdiction over its various aspects. After the Senate has approved creation of the special six-man committee, the way will be clear for introduction of an omnibus bill embodying the Joint Committee's recommendations. This bill will then go on the Senate calendar and join the unpassed appropriation bills and Administration measures in the growing legislative log-jam. With similar hurdles to surmount in the House and with the prospect of *sine-die* adjournment in July, there is no time to lose.

We consider it a matter of the utmost urgency that Congress act soon upon the Joint Committee's report. The sweeping reforms proposed are essential to intelligent legislation in the public interest, and they are long overdue. Our national legislature today is neither organized nor equipped to perform adequately its main functions of determining policy, authorizing administration and supervising executive performance. In three recent independent surveys, political scientists, efficiency engineers and a joint congressional committee reached almost identical conclusions as to what's wrong with Congress, and the appropriate remedies.

Congressional reform is our number-one domestic issue. It underlies all the other great problems of the day. The British loan, the draft, price-control extension, atomic-energy control, emergency housing legislation and the rest are merely cargo items on the ship of state. If the ship is water-logged, our domestic programs and international relations alike are endangered. Modernization of the machinery and facilities of Congress would expedite action on the entire legislative program and enable the national legislature to cope more efficiently with its rising work load.

If the Republicans organize the House of Representatives next January, it seems unlikely that they will adopt the basic recommendations of the La-Follette-Monroney Committee. After being out of office for sixteen years, their appetite for all the powers, privileges and perquisites that go with the present outmoded system would probably be overpowering. If Congress is to be reformed, therefore, it must be done by the Democrats this year.

Moreover, public opinion demands action now. The report of the Joint Committee brought a chorus of praise from the press of the nation. Civic and professional groups have endorsed it. Business, labor and farm groups have called for a stronger Congress. The League of Women Voters rates it as the foremost domestic need of the nation. Unless we act now, while public interest is aroused, the momentum of the movement may be lost.

We urge Congress, therefore, to raise its sights, shake off its inertia and strengthen its own institution along the lines recommended by the LaFollette-Monroney Committee. This course would revitalize our national legislature, expedite the solution of our postwar problems and renew popular faith in American democracy. Help us make this "must" legislation for the Seventy-ninth Congress before it adjourns.

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be begun by the United States to meet "mass hunger in the late winter of 1947." Perhaps if we wait long enough there may be unanimous agreement on the need for such a program. That program, whatever we can make of it, must be instituted now. The hungry already have unanimity: they must have food or starve.

Storm Clouds over China

ONCE MORE General Marshall is expected to pass a miracle and, almost single-handed, bring peace back to China. This time, however, the odds against his success seem greater than ever. There can be no doubt that the situation deteriorated badly during his absence in the United States, and it is not merely the outbreak of open warfare in Manchuria that makes this apparent. In fact, one of the characteristic paradoxes of current Chinese politics is that the resumption of hostilities in the North may prove to be the one bright aspect of the situation. The impressive proof of Communist armed strength in Changchun and Harbin, while it will no doubt cause the astute and vigorous Red leaders to grow increasingly imperious in their attitude, may have the effect of making the Generalissimo and his diehard cohorts in the Kuomintang, who are the greatest menaces to peace and coalition, think again before they take the chance of a possible military defeat.

The unfortunately extended absence of General Marshall added to the deterioration, not only because the General's presence in itself has so far brought out the best in all the political parties in China, but also because he appears to be the one American there who exerts a beneficial influence on people and events. Ever since Ambassador Hurley and, to a lesser extent, General Wedemeyer purged most of the able American diplomatic and military men who understood and sympathized with the Chinese people, we have been gravely handicapped in our dealings with both Chiang and the Communists. John Hersey, an accurate and knowing reporter, says in a dispatch from Peiping, in the *New Yorker*, that our present representatives openly reveal their sympathy with the Kuomintang, are frankly uncomfortable with the Communist negotiators because they seem to be "declaimers and advocates rather than committeemen and executives," and that one American intelligence officer remarked to him that it was the Japs who "are going to be our allies in the next war—I'll bet money on it. They talk our language."

Mr. Hersey also mentions the active collaboration that is going on between the Kuomintang's General Yen Hsi-shan and the armed and still swaggering Japanese soldiers in Shansi Province, and gives details of the determined and successful efforts of the Kuomintang to wreck the agreement with the Communists and the Democratic League achieved by the recent Political Consultation Conference. Within a month after this agreement, which would have made a real coalition government and a democratic constitution possible, had been reached, the KMT's Central Executive Committee, with the direct approval of Chiang Kai-shek, began revising the whole arrangement without consulting the other parties, refusing to recognize constitutional principles which had been approved even by the Kuomintang's own representatives in the Political Consultation Conference.

In its attitude toward the convening of an All-Party National Assembly to draft the new constitution, a matter also agreed upon in the Political Consultation Conference, the Generalissimo's party has proved equally tricky. It attempted, Mr. Hersey reports, to stuff the Assembly with so many additional KMT-appointed members that the proposed election of some 400 delegates, who were supposed to have the balance of power in the drafting, would have been meaningless. Failing in this, it set out to stack the election by making it virtually impossible for anyone save an assured party man to vote. The thing was so shoddy that the whole election was finally postponed, but not until Mr. Hersey had seen a Peiping mass meeting of the Democratic League broken up by KMT thugs, in apparently the same manner used in Chungking a few months before, when the Communist newspaper office was wrecked and the distinguished liberal author, Kuo Mo-jo, was injured.

For a long time there was a disposition on the part of observers to exonerate the Generalissimo of any charge of helping to sabotage the peace agreement. It was even insisted that the efforts of the extreme party reactionaries to forestall coalition was a blow to Chiang's prestige and that he was determined to fight them in the interest of the agreement with the Communists and the Democratic League. It has become increasingly clear, however, that his sympathies and support are with his reactionary friends rather than with the liberal wing of the party, and, with his continued refusal to release political prisoners as had been promised, it now seems obvious that he is not to be looked upon as a friend of Chinese unity, save under continued Kuomintang domination.

It can hardly be denied that the Communists, too, have frequently been stiff-necked and difficult as negotiators; that they have sometimes been disingenuous in their attitude toward American mediation and that their violence of speech has added unnecessarily to Kuomintang hostility to them. At the same time, all the evidence indicates that they have made an honest effort to reach an agreement for a reasonable coalition government and that their military activity in Manchuria has been a natural movement of self-preservation in the light of Chiang's apparent determination to maintain the essentials of Kuomintang dictatorship.

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Continuation of the stubborn resistance to real coöperation on the part of the right wing, and increasing Communist and Democratic League irritation at such tactics, are making all-out civil war increasingly probable. Yet even the Kuomintang diehards may hesitate, as they see the ineffectuality of their ill clad, though American-armed, Southern troops against the Northern Red Armies in Manchuria.

They Want to Kill the OPA

HERE IS A LIST of members of the House of Representatives who are in favor of abolishing or crippling the OPA. There was no single vote on this subject, but there were several votes on proposed amendments to the price-control law which clearly divided the House into groups for and against. We have selected the Wolcott amendment, which demanded for every commodity a price equal to its cost, plus "a reasonable profit." On the surface, this sounds fair, but it would be completely unworkable. It is hopelessly impractical to demand for every producer or distributor a profit on every item; and even if this could be done, there is no way of determining what profit is "reasonable." The amendment, if written into the law, would have destroyed the OPA, as the House well knew.

The vote was 259 for, 137 against, and 34 not voting. We have omitted from our list not only the adverse votes but the names of those not voting. Among the latter there may have been some supporters of the OPA absent for legitimate reasons.

Abernethy, Adams, Allen (Ill.), Allen (La.), Almond, Andersen (H. Carl), Anderson (Calif.), Andresen (August H.), Andrews (Ala.), Angell, Arends, Arnold, Auchincloss.

Baldwin (Md.), Barden, Barrett (Wyo.), Bates (Mass.), Beall, Bell, Bender, Bennet (N. Y.), Bennett (Mo.), Bishop, Blackney, Bolton, Bonner, Boren, Boykin, Bradley (Mich.), Brehm, Brooks, Brown (Ga.), Brown (Ohio), Brumbaugh, Bryson, Buck, Buffett, Burch, Butler, Byrnes (Wis.).

Camp, Campbell, Carlson, Case (N. J.), Case (S. Dak.), Chelf, Chenoweth, Chiperfield, Church, Clason, Clements, Clevenger, Clippinger, Cole (Kans.), Cole (Mo.), Cole (N. Y.), Cooley, Corbett, Cox, Cravens, Crawford, Cunningham, Curtis.

Daughton (Va.), D'Ewart, Dirksen, Dolliver, Domengeaux, Dondero, Doughton (N. C.), Durham, Dworshak.

Earthman, Eaton, Elliott, Ellis, Ellsworth, Elsaesser, Elston, Engel (Mich.), Engle (Calif.), Ervin.

Fellows, Fenton, Fernandez, Flannagan, Fuller.

Gamble, Gardner, Gary, Gathings, Gavin, Gearhart, Gerlach, Gifford, Gillespie, Gillette, Gillie, Goodwin, Gossett, Grant (Ala.), Grant (Ind.), Griffiths, Gross, Gwinn (N. Y.), Gwynne (Iowa).

Hagen, Hale, Hall (Edwin Arthur), Hall (Leonard W.), Halleck, Hand, Hare, Harless (Ariz.), Harness (Ind.), Harris, Hartley, Hébert, Hedrick, Hendricks, Herter, Heselton, Hess, Hill, Hinshaw, Hobbs, Hoeven, Hoffman, Holmes (Mass.), Holmes (Wash.), Hope, Horan, Howell.

Jenkins, Jennings, Jensen, Johnson (Calif.), Johnson (Ill.), Johnson (Ind.), Johnson (Okla.), Jonkman, Judd.

Kearney, Keefe, Kelly (Ill.), Kerr, Kilburn, Kilday, Kinzer, Knutson.

Landis, Lanham, Larcade, Latham, Lea, LeCompte, LeFevre, Lemke, Lewis.

McConnell, McCowen, McDonough, McGehee, McGregor, McKenzie, McMillan (S. C.), Mahon, Maloney, Manasco, Martin (Iowa), Martin (Mass.), Mason, Mathews, Merrow, Michener, Miller (Nebr.), Mills, Mundt, Murray (Tenn.), Murray (Wis.).

Norblad, Norrell.

O'Hara, O'Konski.

Pace, Peterson (Ga.), Philbin, Phillips, Pickett, Pittenger, Ploeser, Plumley, Poage, Price (Fla.).

Ramey, Randolph, Rankin, Reed (Ill.), Reed (N. Y.), Rees (Kans.), Rich, Richards, Riley, Rivers, Rizley, Robertson (N. Dak.), Robsion (Ky.), Rockwell, Roe (Md.), Rogers (Fla.), Rogers (Mass.), Russell.

Schwabe (Mo.), Schwabe (Okla.), Scribner, Shafer, Short, Sikes, Simpson (Ill.), Simpson (Pa.), Slaughter, Smith (Ohio), Smith (Va.), Smith (Wis.), Springer, Stefan, Stevenson, Stewart, Stigler, Stockman, Sumner (Ill.), Sumners (Tex.), Sundstrom.

Taber, Talbot, Talle, Tarver, Taylor, Thomas (N. J.), Thomas (Tex.), Tibbott, Towe.

Vinson, Vorys (Ohio), Vursell.

Wadsworth, Weichel, West, Whitten, Whittington, Wickersham, Wigglesworth, Winstead, Winter, Wolcott, Wolfenden (Pa.), Wood, Woodruff, Worley.

John L. Lewis and Inflation

AS IS TRUE in the matter of skinning a cat, there is more than one way to kill the OPA. The House of Representatives took the direct approach, but John L. Lewis has fastened upon a pair of alternate methods, somewhat more roundabout but fairly obvious and equally effective.

The first device, much discussed and therefore well understood, is the one of obtaining a strike settlement with the operators which cannot be reconciled with the stabilization policy. The strike will then become one against the government. If the miners' deal with the soft-coal operators includes a royalty payment plus wage increases which together exceed the government pattern of 18.5 cents an hour, and which are to be reflected in higher prices, Chester Bowles cannot approve it without seeing his whole program collapse. Congress will surely give no ear to pleas to maintain price controls if Bowles has just abrogated the wage ceilings. And at the same time, there will be no stopping the roaring surge of farmers and other workers descending on Washington to obtain higher prices and wages, respectively.

The second method which Lewis can employ to kill the OPA has been generally overlooked. He can simply refuse to settle at all, whether with the operators or with the government, and continue the strike for a few more weeks. Quite aside from other ways in which this would smash the economy, it would mean that the production of consumer goods, which is the basic answer to inflation, would not be forthcoming.

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The OPA's ceiling prices are set to yield fair profits at normal volume. Most industries have reached and surpassed that volume; others, mostly in reconversion fields, are rapidly approaching it. Failure to achieve or to sustain that volume means failure to hold present prices. Business, honest or otherwise, cannot long continue at a low level without enormous price boosts.

A couple of weeks of real coal famine means several additional weeks of low industrial production. During that time, the pressure for higher prices can scarcely be resisted. And at the same time, the incentive will be enormous to turn over to the black market such goods as are produced. Required to boost prices to the ceiling and to fight an all-embracing black market, the OPA could not retain even the semblance of a control system.

If the strike continues another two weeks, the end of May will see an almost complete stoppage of auto, truck, farm-machinery and electric-motor production. Even if the strike should be subsequently settled in short order, the damage will have been done. The shortages which will continue weeks or months after they should have been relieved will be the load that breaks the OPA's back. Even without a hostile Congress, the OPA is close to collapse under inflationary pressures.

It is not unfair to assume that the wrecking of price controls is precisely what Lewis is playing for. He has openly announced his abhorrence of the OPA and all its works. So have a great number of industrialists. They would have a soft spot in their hearts for anyone who helps break the OPA; some have already been heard to say that this man Lewis, even though he's a labor leader, has some sound ideas. After all, he's a Republican, a great champion of "free enterprise," and he doesn't "rely on the New Deal to come in and bite you while you're dealing with him." Could be that since you have to negotiate with unions, he's the best unioneer to have across the table from you.

Could be, also, that this is exactly the notion Lewis would like to see spread around.

The Army-Navy Merger

THE NAVY brass hats and their henchmen in the Senate Naval Affairs Committee are trying to sabotage congressional efforts for an Army-Navy merger. Unfortunately, it seems as if they may be gaining influence at the White House. For a long time, President Truman spoke out strongly for a merger. He sharply rebuked naval officers for lobbying against it. Then he made one of his typical about-face turns. He permitted Secretary Forrestal to issue an anti-merger proposal without his objection, and even made the bewildering statement that he did not regard this proposal as hostile to a merger.

This has cut the ground from under the merger forces. It makes it almost certain that Congress won't be given a chance to vote on the matter this session, unless an emasculated compromise satisfactory to the Navy is worked out. That is what the Navy men have been aiming at since the Senate Military Affairs Committee overwhelmingly approved the merger. That put the admirals on a spot; they had to do something, and quickly. So Senator Walsh stepped in to save his old friends. He suddenly decided that the Naval Affairs Committee, of which he is chairman, had to conduct its own hearings. Obviously he should have suggested joint hearings with the Military Affairs Committee if he was interested in getting differing points of view. The pro-and-con arguments have already been made. Clearly, he was helping his Navy cronies to stall for time.

The admirals finally figured out an ingenious way to get around the merger. The Navy plan, as presented by Secretary Forrestal, would leave the military departments just as they are now, but would interpose a buffer between the services and the President—a director of common defense who would "coördinate" the differences between the services. He would be chairman of a council composed of the heads of the military departments, the Secretary of State and the head of a national resources security board. The Secretaries of War and Navy would retain their cabinet rank. Service functions would be placed under joint agencies.

The Navy plan has the same faults as the operations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Marshall and Nimitz both admitted that the JCS operated far from perfectly during the war. The Army couldn't bind the Navy, nor the Navy the Army. When Leahy, King, Marshall and Arnold could agree, well and good; when they could not, that was that, and the prosecution of the war suffered. Although the Navy plan introduces a coördinator, the situation would be basically the same.

The Army's merger plan, on the other hand, makes sense. It would create a department of common defense to centralize control of all the armed forces. Training, procurement, research and intelligence would be placed under four assistant secretaries. A supreme chief of staff, the number-one military figure, would rotate every three years among the Army, Navy and Air Forces. Under all these would come the Army, Navy and Air chiefs without cabinet rank.

The Army plan is a sound one; even the top Navy men admit that. While they fought in the Pacific, both Nimitz and Halsey were heartily in favor of unification. It was only when they returned to Washington and the Annapolis spirit that they changed their minds.

Their original judgment was correct. The merger plan is the right answer. The wartime victories of Eisenhower, Nimitz and MacArthur justified the principle of unified command. There is no less reason for it in the atomic age.

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Washington Wire

The Senate and the Loan

THIS MOROSE reporter—who started out a gay and carefree lad twenty years ago but whose "covering" of the Senate since then has dried his inner juices of geniality like the blight of those unfortunate Manhattan trees that are bathed continually in another kind of exhaust miasma—this reporter, I say, watched the so-called debate on the British loan conscientiously for three weeks and sickened at the sight. "What!" he was asked time and again by astonished friends, "You mean the British loan is in danger?" To which this now-misanthropic reporter repeatedly replied, in the colloquialism of an earlier day, "Kid, you said a mouthful."

A dreary spectacle, my masters. Here was the showdown on America's practical application of postwar internationalism. Here was the test of the new coöperation. Here was the debate at home while Secretary Byrnes, at Paris, proposed a four-power, 25-year treaty to keep Germany disarmed. Foreign diplomats said little at Paris but kept their eyes peeled for the Senate. And what was going on there? Day after day repeated quorum calls that failed to get, or later to hold, quorums; set speeches, read from manuscript, hours in length, while only five or six Senators lolled in their chairs; an approaching deadline created by the need to act on the draft-extension bill; purposely dilatory tactics that always began with the mawkish statement, "I am not anti-British, but—" and that went on into such filibustering digressions as Senator Langer's reading of the account of the Crucifixion.

We get about as good a government as we deserve, I suppose. We tolerate a Senate where cloture is next to impossible. We permit a bedridden octogenarian to remain a member, who has not been in the chamber for years, and whose absentee vote is directed by his wife and secretary. We allow, too, such another sight as I shall not soon forget: an aged member, too deaf and misty-eyed to get the chairman's recognition without assistance from his party whip, too infirm to make his poor old piping voice heard beyond the next chair, mumbling the words of an isolationist anti-loan speech—which he has not written—to an audience of half a dozen Senators who pay no attention to what he says. Well, maybe the British will get their loan, even so; and maybe some day we shall have a better method of handling these matters.

Mr. Truman will have the relaxation of taking half a dozen honorary degrees this blithe baccalaureate season. In fact, he could probably have all the degrees he has time for. As the schedule for this cultural harvest is so far arranged, Mr. Truman will take a doctorate of laws at Fordham, May 11, a second at William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri, May 20, an unspecified degree from George Washington University, here in this city, May 29, and another honor from Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland, June 1. The President may use these rituals as a sounding board for speeches if he so desires, and goodness knows there are plenty of subjects, foreign and domestic, on which he might comment, from the Paris peace conference to John L. Lewis.

As to Mr. Lewis, it is widely assumed here that he has by now exacerbated national nerves adequately to his purpose, and that he will get down to a strike settlement shortly. Prophecy within the shadow of the event is regarded as unprofessional by journalists, but I can report that most calm observers have assumed that Mr. Lewis will ultimately get a good share of what he asks for. While this column has a lot of reservations about Mr. Lewis individually, it likes the coal miners and feels that industry and the states have shamefully neglected their pay and protection. There is nothing revolutionary in insisting that some sort of welfare fund be set up. Miners crippled by underground accidents, or the families of killed miners, in some cases still get little compensation, or none at all. The best way of ensuring adequate safety methods is to slap on laws requiring heavy compensation for every bona-fide injury.

With commendable pride, the American Press Association, an advertising organization for small-town weeklies, reports that the ungrateful National Association of Manufacturers was quickly brought to heel recently. All these years it's the country weeklies which have been giving columns of space to the canned propaganda that the NAM sends out free to them. Who is it who runs the NAM cartoons, whooping it up for free enterprise, sent out by the NAM's "Industrial Press Service"? Why, the weeklies, of course. And yet, believe it or not, when the NAM started to spend the $395,000 which President Robert R. Wason admitted before a Senate committee his organization has used in its battle against the OPA, it lavished it all on big-city dailies! Naturally, the American Press Association was outraged. What's the use of sycophancy if you're not on the list when the gravy boat is passed? Fortunately, it all had a happy ending. The American Press Association jubilantly reports that, after a little pressure, the NAM graciously acknowledged services received, and has given the country weeklies a cut in the anti-OPA account. So everything turned out for the best, after all.

A political spot to watch is the Tenth District of New Jersey whose incumbent congressman is Representative Fred A. Hartley, Republican. Mr. Hartley, 18 years a congressman, besides being a Mason and an Elk, rejoices in the fact that he is the only living person after whom an aerie of the Fraternal Order of Eagles has been named. Aerie-christening Hartley is leader of the coalition of House Republicans and Southern conservative Democrats, and is one of the chief spokesmen against the OPA, in which high endeavor he is alleged to have been mouthpiece for the National Retail Dry Goods Association. Mr. Hartley now faces opposition in his own party primary by Walter A. Schaefer, a Newark insurance man, who not only supports the OPA but also takes a liberal view on international affairs. The Hartley primary occurs June 4, either on the heels of, or actually during, the final congressional vote on the OPA. The housewives' lobby is trying out the OPA issue in Mr. Hartley's district. An early test vote on its importance is thus in prospect.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup

Unity on the Left

MAY 11 can be a good day for liberalism in America. Representatives of three national political-action organizations—the CIO-PAC, the National Citizens' PAC and the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Arts, Sciences and Professions—will meet in Washington that day to work out the closest possible operating relationship for this year's elections. Sidney Hillman, Harold Ickes, Elmer Benson and their top associates will sit down to talk turkey about candidates, issues and strategy, state by state and district by district. Every member of this group knows just how tough a fight will be required to return a better Congress than the present one has proved to be. They know the figures from past elections and the probabilities for this one. They know the strengths and weaknesses of their own organizations. They all are acutely aware of certain duplications of effort and certain rivalries of which each one is guilty.

Eventually, and let us hope before 1948, the actual merger of these three and other progressive organizations must be brought about. Right now a practical working coalition among them is the most that can be expected. Efficiency on the progressive side can be raised considerably merely by pooling financial drives and concentrating on special areas of operation. Out of the May 11 meeting should come a small over-all board of directors to boss the job of winning a liberal victory in 1946 and from there on. But remember that there is bureaucracy in liberal politics, too. And if you are a member of one of the organizations listed above, be sure to call your officers to account if there is any unreasonable delay in completing arrangements for combined operations on political action this year.

School for Politics. – At last progressives who want to be better than rank amateurs at playing politics will have a place to go to learn how. The National Citizens' Political Action Committee plans to run a political-action school in Washington during the last week of June. Nationally known experts will instruct the students, to be selected from among the best local leaders, in the black arts of information and propaganda, lobbying, getting out the vote, etc.

Mississippi. – The filing date has passed in Mississippi and no truly heavyweight candidate is officially in the running against Bilbo. Only three out of the field of five opponents are considered seriously. If the latest entry, clerk of the state supreme court Tom Q. Ellis, attracts the support of the Governor and other local anti-Bilbo politicians, as is expected, he will have a better chance of forcing "The Man" into a second run-off primary than either Lieutenant Commander Levings or former Representative Ross Collins, the other two leading contenders.

Michigan. – Unity is as absent from the liberal political scene in Michigan as it is from the United Auto Workers. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, unopposed in the Republican primary, is up against a very weak candidate from the Democratic side, one Lee, an assistant corporation counsel and a political unknown. Neither the Democratic Party nor the PAC came up with a man they were willing to back all the way. Unity clearly does not reign in the races for Governor and for Mayor of Detroit; Mayor Edward Jeffries of Detroit has filed for Governor and is being supported by some UAW people in spite of his black anti-labor, race-hating record, on the ground that his election would clear the way for a UAW man, George Edwards, now top man in the city council, to become mayor of Detroit. Edwards is a staunch Reuther supporter and unattractive to the Thomas-Addes section of the union.

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in its weekly newspaper is all out for Vandenberg, whom it describes as a great and noble statesman.

Missouri. – The good intentions of the Democratic National Committee to conduct something very close to a series of "purges" in this year's elections have been shaved down to midget size by the White House in its fear of reprisals at the hands of the Democratic sinners who might come back to Congress despite such a campaign. But at least one such drive remains on the list of both National Chairman Hannegan and President Truman: they intend to rid Congress of Representative Roger Slaughter (D, Mo.), the President's own Representative. Slaughter has been in the forefront of the Republocrats who have repeatedly voted against their party and their President this year. And from his strategic position on the Rules Committee, he hurls even more deadly missiles.

To date, the leading contender against Slaughter in the Democratic primary is Jerome Walsh, Kansas City labor lawyer who ran Slaughter a very close race in 1942. Labor was split in its support of Walsh last time, and a third, also anti-Slaughter candidate, received more than enough votes to have tipped the scale for Walsh had labor put all its eggs in one basket. It is not yet clear whether the CIO-PAC and the AFL have learned the full lesson of that race. As of now, Walsh does not have unqualified labor support. Unless he, or some other candidate, does have that, there is little chance of retiring Slaughter. As Walsh has pointed out: "Rarely in the history of our country have we had such a spectacle—a congressman, a member of the President's own party and from his own county—leading the ranks of the opposition and attempting to outdo them in virulence, intolerance and greed."

Sabotage. – Democratic Chairman Hannegan has caught the President's favorite clown and financier, George E. Allen of Mississippi and the RFC, in the act of fomenting and directing the Southern revolt against the Administration. Hannegan broke the news to the President when called down to the presidential yacht during Mr. Truman's recent vacation. The hard facts of this treachery are a major reason, close advisers say, for the grim look the President wore on his return and the shortness of temper he displayed at the first press conference following his rest. It is hard for Harry Truman to take a stick to a crony, even one who has laid into the country as vigorously as George Allen has done.

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Operation Plunder

The Secret Scandal of World War II

by Allen Bernard

DURING the past 25 years billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money have been appropriated, under false pretenses, by the shipping industry. The story of this looting of the federal Treasury, as it unfolds in volume after volume of the *Congressional Record*, is a study in twentieth-century piracy that reduces Captain Kidd, Bluebeard and other bravos of the Spanish Main to the stature of mischievous schoolboys.

The entire history of our modern merchant marine, in general, has been one of microscopic investment and astronomic profit, of deliberate fraud, misrepresentation and collusion with government officials to evade or directly violate federal law.

The shipping industry grew fat on liberal government subsidies provided by successive administrations after World War I. During World War II it set a new record in the organized manipulation of public funds for private profit. So brazenly conceived and boldly executed has been its raid on the Treasury that Senator George T. Aiken of Vermont was moved to exclaim (October 25, 1943) on the floor of the Senate:

> I doubt if in all the history of the world one can find an instance of the plundering of a nation such as is going on under our very eyes today, while Congress and the people seem to take it for granted.

During the war the U. S. Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration spent more than $21 billion of the taxpayers' money in the construction, charter, purchase and insurance of merchant vessels to support our armed forces, and those of our allies. Last February 18, Senator Aiken told his colleagues:

> When an examination of Maritime Commission affairs has been brought up to date, it will be the most shocking story of collusion, corruption and disregard of public interest ever presented against an agency of the United States Government.

Within the past four years hundreds of pages of evidence have been introduced into the *Congressional Record* to show the development of the nation's biggest scandal since Teapot Dome. Yet up to this writing Congress has failed to order any kind of comprehensive investigation of the accused government officials and shipping interests.

On the contrary, Congress has passed, and President Truman has signed, a new ship-disposal bill termed by its critics "a two-billion-dollar blunder." This bill, in addition to placing an official seal of approval on one of the most flagrant steals of history, now makes an outright gift to the accused shipping interests of new war-built vessels representing a $15-billion investment to the American public.

THE UNITED STATES emerged from World War I with a government-owned fleet of more than 2,000 sea-going vessels, acquired at a cost of approximately $3 billion. The problem, then, as after the recent war, was how to dispose of this tonnage.

In 1920 Congress committed itself to a policy favoring a privately owned and operated merchant marine to carry our extensive foreign trade in times of peace and to form an adequate reserve of naval auxiliaries in the event of another war. In furtherance of this program, the United States Shipping Board proceeded to sell government vessels at bargain prices to private operators, with the stipulation that these ships must be operated at regular intervals over an established period of years on specified "essential" trade routes. Competition on these routes from cheaper foreign shipping was offset by liberal government subsidies in the form of "mail contracts."

It was an ideal set-up for promoters: little investment required, generous and rapid profits guaranteed. The mad scramble of shipping operators to climb aboard the gravy train provided the nation with a spectacle unrivaled since the famous gold rush of '49.

Through political influence and personal wire-pulling, the choicest government vessels were knocked down to privileged individuals and companies at fire-sale prices, with only the merest pretense of competitive bidding.

ITEM: *Harry Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles* Times *and principal stockholder of the Los Angeles Steamship Company, bought the* SS City of Los Angeles *(formerly the German ship* Aeolus*) for $100,000. Bids on this vessel were advertised for 13 days while it was at sea and consequently not available for inspection by other bidders. The Shipping Board previously had refused an offer of $660,000 from another company, and only a year be-*

This is the first of a series of articles by Allen Bernard. Mr. Bernard has had long experience on newspapers and magazines in New York and in Mexico City, where he was publisher of an English-language newspaper. At present a free-lance writer in New York, he has for many years been interested in the problems of the merchant marine.

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fore, it had rejected Chandler's bid of $250,000 for the same vessel. Just before its sale, the government spent $2,816,000 to recondition the vessel. (Senate investigation of the U. S. Shipping Board, 1935.)

Extremely liberal terms were offered purchasers of government ships. Many companies acquired new vessels without any cash outlay whatever and were able to meet payments from subsidies so generously provided by the Shipping Board.

ITEM: *In 1923 R. Stanley Dollar, influential West Coast Republican, bought seven new "President" ships, which had cost the government $29 million to build, for only $3,850,000. Terms: No cash down, 25 percent in a two-year letter of credit, the balance to be paid off at the rate of five percent annually.* (Ibid.)

Other sales followed the same pattern. In the first few years after the war the Shipping Board sold 220 of its best vessels, which originally had cost the taxpayers $516,174,250, for only $41,411,665—about eight cents on the dollar. *(Report No. 898, 74th Congress, 1st Session, page 4.)* Later, additional vessels of the fleet, costing up to $200 per ton to build, were sold for as little as $5 per ton—about 2½ cents on the dollar.

In the midst of World War II some of these same vessels were sold back to the government, after years of profitable operation in the hands of their owners, for prices up to 33 cents on the original dollar.

PENDING disposal of its wartime fleet, the Shipping Board maintained its ships in service through contracts with private managing-operators. The government paid all expenses, as well as a commission to the operators in the form of a fixed percentage of gross revenue.

Although these percentages were deceptively small, this arrangement proved extremely expensive to the taxpayers. Many of the operators padded expenses, increasing gross revenues and thereby the commission paid them by the government. Companies with little cash capital realized enormous profits, paid huge dividends and, out of earnings from the government, bought government vessels at low prices with which to earn additional millions from the mail contracts.

ITEM: *The Admiral Oriental Line was organized in 1922 with a cash capital of only $500 and notes given for capital stock amounting to an additional $499,500. In less than three and a half years this company earned $997,396 from its managing-operator agreements, and was able to retire from its dividends the notes given for capital stock. In 1926, without any investment beyond the original $500, the company bought the line and several ships from the government, and in the seven years that followed, with the aid of liberal government subsidies, showed a net profit of $6,767,858.* (Ibid., page 5.)

In 1930 the Shipping Board discontinued the percentage basis in managing-operator contracts, substituting lump-sum payments per voyage to all private operators of government vessels. Under the new arrangements, later found illegal by the Comptroller General of the United States, contractors made larger profits than ever before.

In many instances shipowners obtained a substantial increase in these payments, after a year of operation, on the plea that operation under the existing contract was unprofitable. There is no evidence that the Shipping Board ever took the trouble to verify the truth of such claims.

ITEM: *In 1931 the Lykes Brothers-Ripley Steamship Company obtained an increase from $7,000 per voyage to $14,500 by asserting that an analysis of the first year's sailings "conclusively" showed there would be no profit, and very probably "an actual loss." Subsequent investigation showed that the company actually made a net profit of $100,000 in the period it claimed loss. Through increased payments, in less than three years this company and its subsidiaries realized a net of $1,620,770 from managing-operator contracts.* (Ibid., page 6.)

The record amply supports the conclusion that the examples cited here were not exceptions: they were the rule. By 1935 the government had spent more than $120 million in payments under such "temporary" agreements for operation of its vessels by helpful managing operators.

The government poured an additional $120 million, in the words of a Senate investigating committee, "down the mail-contract rat hole." These "mail" contracts cannot be justified on any grounds of postal expediency; they were nothing more or less than concealed subsidies, by which the shipping industry obtained between $2 and $8 per mile traveled by each vessel, regardless of the amount of mail carried.

"MAIL" CONTRACTS, as a form of subsidy, had been provided in the Merchant Marine Act of 1920. The Act of 1928 reasserted and emphasized the "mail"-contract-subsidy principle. However, in the new law Congress determined that such aid should be distributed under a system of competitive bidding rather than by arbitrary award.

Needless to say, this provision did not meet with unqualified enthusiasm on the part of the shipping interests and of many government officials. Immediately after the enactment of the new law a host of agents, lobbyists and representatives of shipping companies descended upon the Post Office Department to "assist" the authorities in determining the routes to be served, the character of the service to be required and the amount of compensation to be paid.

With a certification by the Postmaster General in hand, the agent then visited the Shipping Board, which obligingly certified the route and advertised for bids. Naturally, the prospective contractor who had done all the spadework always obtained the contract. The services specified in the advertised contracts always strangely coincided with the routes then being operated by these companies, and the types of ships they were using.

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A shocking picture of how cynical government officials made a farce of federal law administration is offered by the stenographic records of an interdepartmental meeting to consider "mail" contracts held in Washington in June, 1929. Participating were A. Lane Cricher, of the Department of Commerce; J. Caldwell Jenkins, of the United States Shipping Board; Commander Court, of the United States Navy; and W. Irving Glover, Second Assistant Postmaster General.

Cricher proceeded to present a plea for the award of a contract to the Colombian Steamship Company, and Commander Court suggested that the Shipping Board *"figure out some way of specifying type, size, speed, etc.,"* to give Colombian *"a preferred position."* (Ibid., page 8.)

Assistant Postmaster General Glover agreed to this plan, provided the United Fruit Company also received a contract: *". . . they want to get some of the money that is being passed around,"* he said. Predicting *"an awful howl"* from the Grace Line on the United Fruit contract, he suggested a contract for that company, too: *". . . If there is going to be any pie, they want to be in,"* is the way he put it. (Ibid.)

IN 43 of 46 contracts let, there was only one bidder; only six were let at less than the maximum rates allowed by law. In only one instance was an "outsider" able to get the contract—and less than a year later he was bought out by the company for which this contract was originally tailored.

Detailed analysis of some of these contracts reveals numerous instances of duplication of service, subsidized operations of no postal or trade value whatsoever, delay in the mails caused by giving preference to slow vessels of favored companies and outright perjury on the part of some of the contractors.

ITEM: *A contract let to the Gulf Pacific Mail Line, Ltd., contained the customary warranty that the contractor had not employed any person to solicit or secure the contract for a commission or contingent fee. Later the company admitted paying one Elisha Hanson a fee of $25,000 for aid in securing the contract. The route itself was without postal value and of more trade value to Canada than to the United States. The contractor, moreover, failed to construct a new vessel, as required.* (Ibid., page 10.)

The compensation to be paid on these contracts depended on the speed and tonnage of the vessels employed. In many cases the speed of vessels was purposely misrepresented for the record, and the owners collected large sums in excess compensation from the government.

ITEM: *A former first officer of the* SS Margaret Lykes, *operated by the Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, testified that he was instructed to falsify the ship's log so as to indicate an average speed of 13 knots perhour in ordinary weather. Actual tests by Navy and Commerce Department experts demonstrated that this vessel never had been capable of such speed. Excess payments on this ship alone: $437,123.* (Ibid., page 13.)

The Senate investigating committee estimated that "unjustified and inexcusable classifications" alone resulted in excessive payments to contractors of $15,429,658 up to January 1, 1935.

Now the avowed purpose of the ship subsidy is to enable American shipping to compete with foreign vessels on equal terms. The "mail"-contract pie was so big that even the intercoastal operators, competing only with other American services, received a slice. Even more ironic were the contracts given United States companies which conducted the major part of their shipping activities under foreign flags, and thus in many services competed directly with other American shipping. In effect, the government helped support the very competition that allegedly was responsible for the need of a subsidy in the first place.

ITEM: *The United Fruit Company held three "mail" contracts under the 1928 Act. With its subsidiaries, this company in 1935 owned 95 vessels: 82 of these were built in foreign yards and 64 were operated under foreign flags.* (Ibid., page 16.)

ITEM: *The Strachan Shipping Company owned 80 percent of the South Atlantic Steamship Company of Delaware, holder of one "mail" contract. The parent company acted as the United States agent for shipping interests under the British, Dutch, Swedish, German, Italian and Japanese flags.* (Ibid.)

In 1934 the Postmaster General informed President Roosevelt that 42 of 43 active ocean "mail" contracts were liable to cancellation because of flagrant irregularities and "arrogant and open defiance of the legal requirements for competitive bidding."

WHAT KIND of merchant marine did we obtain by the expenditure of more than $240 million in public funds? The Senate committee in 1935—four years before the opening guns of World War II—sadly concluded: "The American merchant marine is neither adequate nor is it in any true sense privately owned."

It was not adequate because it ranked third in tonnage, fourth in speed and last in regard to the age of its ships, among the principal maritime nations of the world.

It was not privately owned because the government had "invested," in loans and ship-sale mortgages on contractors' vessels, an amount equal to $139 for every $100 interest held in these companies by their stockholders. This is a rock-bottom estimate. It does not include the $240 million spent in managing-operator and so-called "mail" contracts—which government money was responsible for the major part of the contractors' total capital. Nor does it include an excess of $451 million paid by the government to build certain vessels over the book value of these ships in 1935.

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Power Politics at Paris

by Saville Davis

London (by cable)

EVEN FROM this distance, across the Channel in London, it is clear that the honeymoon stage of the Paris conference is well advanced. No purpose is served by damping down the welcome feelings of relief on all sides; an improved atmosphere is a very tangible constructive force in the bargaining. But there is good evidence to show that the power struggle implicit in the postwar settlement has simply passed from the rough-tough stage into a phase of smoother, more subtle maneuver.

Two things have tempered the Soviet steel. First is the now familiar effort to influence the summer elections in France and Italy and the fluid political situation in Germany. Moscow is finding that in Western Europe it is necessary to play politics more adroitly. Perhaps even more important, the Russians found they had pushed the United States too far. There is much evidence that Moscow does not want a fundamental break with the Americans, and when the voice of Byrnes became the voice of Vandenberg during the Iran case, they decided it was high time to pull back.

Tempering, however, only makes steel more flexible and less easy to break. Item: Molotov's tentative acceptance of capacity to pay as the basis for Italian reparations. It was not widely noticed that Moscow had found it expedient a week earlier to cancel Finnish reparations, and anyhow the Italian elections are coming.

Item: the division of the Italian navy. Russia's early demand for a one-third share was moderated, but when you total the prospective Yugoslav, Greek and Russian shares—shares which Moscow can at least hope to control later—Russia did not do badly.

Item: Molotov's much publicized gambit. He is said to have reversed himself and let France into all treaty talks in order to flatter the French. He calmly yielded his most stubbornly defended position at the London Foreign Ministers' conference last September, the position on which that meeting broke up. It looked like a typical Soviet flipflop. But at London Molotov had two extra right-wing opponents—Bidault and the representative of Chiang Kai-shek—to mass forces against him in big-power bargaining, where they were largely supernumerary. He decided to get rid of them.

It should be noticed that at Paris one of these—China, whose regime is largely unreconstructed—has not returned. Bidault is there, but since the London conference a virtual Communist veto has drawn most of his sting, from the Soviet viewpoint. So Molotov, to sweeten both the French left wing and the opening of the conference, acted with that Russian logic which is too little appreciated abroad, making a useful gesture at a minimum of expense.

When it came to the question of the Italian colonies, the new formulas of Molotov and Bevin were carefully contrived to dress up the original aims in new guise. The Russian claim—a nice model of Oriental baroque, so to speak—boils down to a Soviet administrator in charge of Tripolitania. And it was surely a sardonic gesture in the best tradition of Soviet diplomacy that Britain and the United States were to be put on the advisory commission, considering the history of the similar commission in Tokyo. Could the Russians produce the equal of MacArthur for Tripoli? Bevin asks for the independence of Libya—presumably on the model of Trans-Jordan and Iraq—and a unified Somaliland under a British trusteeship administration, though possibly disarmed. It keeps the Russians out of both areas, makes a bid for Arab favor in the Libyan case and strengthens the British anchor at the south end of the Suez Canal where native independence movements are less likely to explode.

Meanwhile there is cautious sparring over Germany, Austria and Japan. Everyone realizes that these are keystones in the postwar structure, and Byrnes offers broad-gauged quarter-century demilitarization pacts in an effort to cut political knots there. These may help, but guns are not the issue in Germany: the stake is the political allegiance of the German people.

IT ISN'T EASY to keep level-headed in this carnival of power politics. The tactics at Paris are to maneuver for military position. The strategy is based on conflicting ideologies. Any crusading idealism seems pushed back into the category of remote motives. Even veteran reporters and diplomats have to keep reminding themselves for the *n*th time that this is not the logical place to expect a show of idealism.

From Yalta to Paris, these big-power talks are not in the main stream of world government; they are the now seriously belated liquidation of the war. At this stage there is no use allocating blame for the delay. We asked for it. We would not come to terms with the Russians earlier at the height of their wartime power, because we figured that time and smart diplomacy would alter the bargaining terms in our favor. They did not. And now the Russians in their turn have deliberately used the delays since last summer to consolidate Eastern Europe and in the West to block the

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moderate political movements which are democracy's hope.

The best chance for internationalism is still a quick and equitable finish to the bargaining process. It is probably too much to expect at this time. Germany and Japan will have to be put on the anvil later, but the need is clearly urgent. All across Europe reports flood in that this protracted haggling has fertilized all the worst elements of both anti-Communist and Communist movements.

At the time of Dumbarton Oaks we all said that the mistake of Versailles was not going to be repeated. The new world organization would start at once independent of peace treaties. What we didn't know then was that fledgling world government could not climb above the level of power politics until the foundation of settlements arising out of the war was complete. The power bargainers at Paris, therefore, are fighting for more than spheres of influence. They are fighting for a fresh start for idealism—perhaps its last chance.

GI Morals in Germany

by Walter J. Slatoff

ONE OF MY BEST PALS came through six months of combat without a scratch only to become a casualty in Berlin nearly a year after the war's end. He, along with many hundreds of other young American soldiers, is the victim of a city in which vice, corruption and callousness have reached a point that defies description.

Imagine your own 18 or 19-year-old son removed entirely from your supervision, given an almost unlimited supply of money, granted a power over women equal to that of Van Johnson or Clark Gable, fed a steady diet of lies and stories calculated to inspire suspicion, hate and cynicism, and placed among a people who had lost all moral standards. The American soldiers occupying Berlin today are in exactly that position. A great number of them are recently drafted 18 and 19-year-olds, and as redeployment continues, the percentage increases.

The situation is particularly dangerous because its true aspect does not become apparent until one gets away from the city. Several days after we left Berlin one GI compared it to an insane asylum, within whose limits the abnormal becomes the normal, and whose inmates, lacking any sane measuring rod, lose all realization of their own peculiarity.

Thus in Berlin, the black market has become the accepted way of doing business. Sexual promiscuity and prostitution have become the normal pattern of boy-and-girl relationships. And the inhabitants, just as the asylum inmates believe the rest of the world crazy, spend a great portion of their time building and circulating stories designed to show that it is the French, Poles, Russians and others, not they, who are vicious, immoral and without civilized standards.

Walter J. Slatoff edited Lightning Bug, *the 310th Regiment newspaper, for two years and served a year and a half in Europe. He was graduated from Columbia in 1942, and articles and poetry by him have appeared in the New York* Times *and* PM.

Great numbers of GI's and officers fall into this Berlin pattern very quickly and easily. From July through November, 1945, my regiment was stationed in various small towns near Kassel, Germany. During that five-month period, out of the approximately 1,000 men who became eligible for redeployment and were shipped to homebound outfits, not more than 10 elected to remain in Germany. Estimates of the number of men seriously fraternizing during that period ranged from three to ten percent. The regiment moved to Berlin the end of November. The venereal-disease rate rose sharply; the number of men seriously fraternizing jumped to between 80 and 95 percent; and between November and the middle of January, when I left Berlin, well over a hundred men eligible for redeployment chose to remain in Berlin for further duty.

MY FRIEND was among these, and his case is not unusual. Throughout the war we thought of him as a typical American kid—proud of his country, his folks, his home town, the pictures of his fiancée, and particularly proud of the fact that he didn't fraternize. He hoped to be married as soon as he was discharged and intended to go back to college under the GI Bill of Rights. When I last saw him he had become an active black marketeer, spent all his evenings drinking with one German girl or another, had ceased to write home and, despite continued pleas from his parents and fiancée to return, was determined to remain in Berlin as long as possible. When speaking of the German nation or the war his arguments might have come from Goebbels.

The great majority of the men in my regiment were combat infantrymen who had been well conditioned to distrust and hate the Germans, and most of them were at least 21 years old. If they become "diseased," what can be expected to happen to the teen-age recruits? Easy money and easy women are the lures. The sum of money a Berlin soldier can make is limited only by the amount of cigarettes, watches, food

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or other scarce commodities he can obtain from home. On the black market—which is every street, hallway and house in the city—he can receive $150 a carton for his cigarettes, between $100 and $300 for watches, $5 for a five-cent bar of candy or cake of soap, and comparable prices for coffee, canned goods and similar items.

AN IDEA of the extent of GI black-market activities is given by the fact that when flower-wiring services were set up throughout Berlin, our soldiers sent home $500,000 worth in less than a month. GI's are considered poverty-stricken if they have less than $500 in their pockets. They pay $1,000 for $50 cameras, and Leicas and Contaxes are eagerly purchased for $3,000 or more. A bottle of vile cognac costs between $60 and $80. Many soldiers spend most of their spare time in black-market transactions, and during my stay in the city I encountered only two who did not admit to having sold at least one carton of cigarettes.

The situation became so bad that in November the Army found it necessary to issue currency-control books which listed the legally acquired money of each soldier, and to rule that no other money could be sent home. This, however, did almost nothing to curb the black market, but merely forced the GI's to search for mailable commodities—camera equipment, jewelry, china—into which to translate their money.

The women of Berlin are hungry, cold and lonesome. The GI's have cigarettes, which will buy food and coal. The GI's have food—chocolate, doughnuts (taken in large quantities from the Red Cross clubs) and canned goods from home. The GI's have warm night clubs. And the GI's provide a kind of security and meaning in an otherwise meaningless city. The result is an aggressive and wholesale manhunt by the women. From the ages of 15 to 50, they seek GI protectors. They stand in front of the GI night clubs, parade up and down the streets in front of the Red Cross clubs and even accost GI's in trolleys, subways and on the street. "*Ich liebe dich,*" normally the German equivalent of "I love you," has become no more meaningful than "How do you do" or "I'm pleased to make your acquaintance."

It is very hard for a GI, lonesome and thousands of miles from home, to resist the onslaught, and very easy for him to forget that he is paying for the "love" he receives. When, after a few weeks, the sweet "fraülein," like as not the wife of an SS man, weeps that she has no money for coal, or that the "barbaric Russkis" killed her mother and father, took all her possessions, or attacked her, it is almost impossible for her GI sweetheart not to help out or not to feel embittered at his former allies.

It is important to remember that I am describing not the exception but the norm for Berlin, and that 90 percent of the soldiers there are affected. Again and again one hears such remarks as: "I couldn't make this kind of money at home." "The girls back home never treated me like this." "I'd be a sucker to go home now. I'll wait till the scramble for jobs is over and then go home." "These Germans aren't so bad. They're the same kind of people we are." "Hell, back home I'd have to work." "I'd go back if I could take the black market with me." Surprising comments when one considers the overwhelming desire of most overseas soldiers to get home as quickly as possible!

The situation would not be so serious were it merely a case of young men sowing a few wild oats. But the picture is one of large numbers of men accepting crooked dealing, dishonesty and promiscuity as a way of life—and apparently liking it. It is also a picture of large numbers of men falling for an insidious line of propaganda calculated to win the peace for the Germans. A survey conducted in August by the European Theatre Service Forces' Information and Education Division showed that among men who had spent no time in Germany, only 34 percent expressed any favorable feeling toward the Germans. This percentage rose to 42 percent among men who had spent less than four weeks in Germany, to 54 percent among those who had been there between one and two months, and reached 59 percent among troops who had been in Germany more than two months. I estimate that in my outfit in Berlin the percentage would be in the vicinity of 75. And in direct ratio with increased affection toward the Germans run hate and suspicion of other peoples. The Germans make sure of that.

For most areas of Germany the problem can be met by an active and intelligent information and education program, provided it is fully supported by unit commanders. But in Berlin the situation will grow steadily worse unless a minimum age and maximum tour of duty is set for our forces there and a strong effort is made to garrison the city with only our best and most mature troops—those who will be least likely to succumb to the Berlin pattern of life and Berlin propaganda, and who will best represent America to the other occupying powers and the German people.

On the Islands Which Are Solomon's

On the islands which are Solomon's I sometimes see
a swift, black bird which on wild pepper feeds;
and having reached a mild satiety,
casts off its song like a merry widow's weeds.

Rich in wisdom from the shady bed of time
the islands rise, and to the world belong.
The hills are hot, the shores are cool with lime:
Hop to my hand, dark beauty, stripped of song.

WILLIAM JAY SMITH

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YEOMEN OF THE PEACE by Derso and Kelen

Text by Denis Plimmer

William Stoneman, Special Adviser to the Secretary General: Bony, ascetic, his small dark eyes flickering brightly under a jutting forehead, he sits behind his chief, Trygve Lie, occasionally whispers to him, poker-faced. . . . Slow-moving, deliberate, soberly dressed, Bill retains in his UN job the reporter's habit of observing closely, listening carefully, saying little. . . . In the lull of translation, he sometimes wanders through the audience, chatting with newsmen he knew during his years as an American correspondent . . .

Claude deBoisenger, Alternate for Henri Bonnet in the French delegation: Tall, graceful, red-haired, self-consciously the Keeper of State Secrets . . . a shrewd observer but no mixer, he rarely allows himself more than a tight-lipped smile, the corners of his mouth curling upward with the mirthlessness of a clown's grin. . . . More than 20 years of diplomacy have led him to most of the capitals of Europe, the League, Washington, and Hunter College . . .

V. G. Lawford, Assistant to Sir Alexander Cadogan: Short, youngish (35), but mustache and baldness age him. . . . Still relatively new to the Foreign Office, he is "going to school" quietly under veteran Cadogan. His previous instructors in diplomacy: Anthony Eden, Ernest Bevin . . .

Dr. Adrian Pelt, Assistant Secretary General in Charge of Conferences and General Services: Friendly, pipe-smoking Hollander . . . tweedy ease and good English . . . shows his long years as a newspaperman and information director (League of Nations, Netherlands government) in quick, clear-voiced answers to press-conference queries. Recently helped wind up Geneva affairs, now looks undismayed to the future . . .

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Soviet Letter

by Benjamin Waife

Stockholm

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY is made in the Kremlin, but the Kremlin has its ear to the ground. Joseph Stalin is where he is today primarily because he always knew how much the traffic would bear and when enough was enough.

The Kremlin has direct telephone connections with every important point in this vast land stretching over one-sixth of the globe. You dial a number and the next voice you hear is that of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karelian Socialist Soviet Republic, close to the roof of Europe, or the Party Secretary of Korog, at the foot of Pamir. No telephone girls, no secretaries, just the man in the Kremlin and the man "over there."

And the man "over there" is expected to know everything about "over there": how many hectares of collective farmland are still unsown, how many pairs of boots were turned out the month before and—which is important for us—how the people "over there" feel about this and that. If he does not know, or guesses wrong, he is not likely to stay "over there" very long.

Russia's foreign policy does not originate with the masses—foreign policy seldom does. But it will not go far beyond their disapproval.

Do the Russian masses want war? Would they fight another war—as self-sacrificingly and as heroically as they fought this war? Do they feel cramped within their present territory? Do they want their government to dominate other lands? Do they think their government is doing this, or trying to do it? In short, what does Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov think about the mess that international politics is today?

I have been trying to find the answers to these questions during the past nine weeks I spent in Russia—in Moscow and Leningrad, in Riga and Talinn, in Minsk and Kiev.

Don't take it for granted that you can't get anything out of the Russians, or that the Russians don't think about these matters. Contact with the visiting foreigner is still generally taboo. No Russian will rush to meet you at the Nacional or Metropole. But when you meet him on neutral ground, on the train, in the market, or at a restaurant frequented by Russians, he will talk to you as simple folk will in other parts of the world. And if you talk his language, however incorrectly, and have a vodka with him, he will tell you plenty.

The man at a departmental desk will be as cold as ice when you first meet him. But if you have patience and show some sign that you already know the facts of life in Russia, he will tell you as much as will any official of any government.

So, what follows will be not my own opinions but my tally of the opinions of the Russians I talked to.

To the first question: Do the Russians want war? The answer must be—in capitals—NO. Definitely not. We in America still do not realize how much tragedy the war has brought to the Russian people.

Take the case of Piotr Michailovich, engineer, of Leningrad. He had two brothers in the Red Army. One returned. He saw his mother die of starvation—unable to hold out on the five hundred grams of bread per day (about one fair-sized slice) which was all the Leningraders had during much of the siege. Her body had to lie for several days piled up with others at the head of the stairway in the cold corridor until it became possible to take it to the cemetery for burial. His only child, a little girl of five, succumbed for lack of medical care and food. Many a time he drank the muddy water of the Leningrad canal, while dead bodies floated by. Piotr Michailovich does not want another war.

Not all Russians suffered as much as Piotr Michailovich, but many have suffered worse. And every Russian, even the man who returned from evacuation in Central Asia or Siberia, will try to tell you what cold and hunger he endured and shake his head, as if to indicate the inadequacy of words, and simply say: "Those were hard years, very hard years"—and the way he says "very hard years" would break your heart.

If there is a people in the world today that does not want another war, it is the Russians—and their leaders know it. Would they fight another war? Could they fight one?

The day *Pravda* ran the story of Churchill's speech at Fulton College, I happened to be en route to Leningrad. In the train opposite me sat a platinum-blonde middle-aged woman. She came from the old bourgeoisie—she had been to Berlin and Paris in the years before the Revolution. She seemed to belong to the upper crust now, judging by her dress.

She pointed to the Churchill story in *Pravda* and said to me:

"What does that man want from us? Why don't they let us alone? All we want is a chance to build our own lives in our own way—are we bothering anybody?"

"Well," I said, "they say that you do."

"*We?*" she almost screamed, and opened her watery eyes as wide as she could. She remained speechless.

Benjamin Waife, a correspondent for the Overseas Press, Inc., writes for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *and the Toronto* Star Weekly.

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Britain Nationalizes Coal

by Haydn Davies

London

NATIONALIZATION of Britain's coal mines is not only the logical development of fifty years of controversy; it is also the direct result of the ruinous condition to which private ownership has brought Britain's basic industry. By now the necessity for nationalization is no longer in question. The condition of the industry can only be described as shocking. Private enterprise has taken its full toll of profits and left a legacy of technical bankruptcy. Politically, it is of the utmost importance to underline the fact that most people in Britain now know this and that they realize also that the economic present and future of the country depend largely upon the coal trade.

In a short article it is not possible to explain all the reasons which have made the British people so determined that the running of the mines be handed over to the nation. Nor is it possible to begin to comprehend what has been happening in the parliamentary debates over nationalization without reference to the long, dismal and bitter story of the industry during the last half-century. The mine owners have let Britain down in two wars. Yet, important as that is, the greatest catastrophe in the economic life of this country has been the management of the coal trade between wars. For more than fifty years, sincere and well informed men have been censuring the wretched organization of the industry.

The average British voter is quite aware of the dry rot that has overcome the industry. No comparison is possible with coal mining anywhere else in the world. Our mines have long needed new machinery and modification according to high technical standards. Coal output per man is lower than it was in 1939. This has been largely due to fatigue and absenteeism and to the extreme labor shortage in the industry. In the last few months recruitment for the mines has increased slightly with the promise of nationalization. The miners, however, have presented Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power, with a seven-point charter for improving working conditions immediately, and their full coöperation is not likely to be obtained unless their demands are met.

It is worth bearing in mind that the end of private enterprise in coal was sounded not by the Labor Party, but by an independent committee of technical experts set up by the Coalition Government when Major Gwilym Lloyd George was Minister of Fuel and Power and Mr. Winston Churchill was Prime Minister. This committee was specifically charged with the task of examining the general causes of the low productivity of British mines. This is what they said:

> We have come to the conclusion that it is not enough simply to recommend technical changes which we believe to be fully practicable, when it is evident to us, as mining engineers, that they cannot be satisfactorily carried through *by the industry organized as it is today.*

This report and its positive conclusion made the British people sit up and take notice. From that time, the whole question of nationalization of the mines took on a new aspect.

The kind of overhauling the industry needs would require a great deal of money. It had been estimated that the cost might exceed a billion dollars, and there was no possibility that private enterprise would subscribe so great a sum through the Stock Exchange to bolster up a decadent industry. The only hope lay in an advance of the necessary capital by the government. But this involved a political question answerable at the polls: would the overburdened taxpayer become party to a scheme to put the coal owners back on their feet? The people's answer was emphatic and decisive.

THE COMMITTEE of technical experts recommended setting up a central authority whose job would be to merge the industry into units of such size as would provide the maximum advantages of planned production. They regarded such an authority, endowed by Parliament with really effective power, as a fundamental necessity. The new bill meets this requirement. Its National Coal Board, set up to take over the industry, consists of a chairman and eight additional members appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power. The chairman is Lord Hyndley, who has been associated with the coal industry for forty years. The whole of the assets of the coal-mining industry in Britain will be transferred to this board.

There will be no confiscation: existing owners will be fairly compensated for their property. A Central Valuation Board will apportion among the districts the total amount that will be paid to the industry as a whole. District Valuation Boards will then make payment locally in shares transferable or redeemable only in certain circumstances or with treasury permis-

This is the first of a series of articles discussing various aspects of the domestic program of the British Labor Government. The author, Haydn Davies, Labor M.P. for St. Pancras, S. W., was industrial correspondent for the London Star.

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sion. The provision for this kind of payment was made to prevent the upsetting of the securities market. There are adequate safeguards for dissatisfied owners who may wish to appeal from the decision of a board. A special tribunal, consisting of two judges of the Supreme Court and an accountant agreed upon between the Minister and the owners, will determine what is fair payment. In this way it is hoped to lift the thorny problem of compensation above controversy.

A striking feature of the new bill is the provision for protecting the consumer. Two separate bodies, one for industrial users, the other for domestic consumers, will consider all matters affecting the sale and supply of coal. As official bodies appointed by the Minister, their recommendations will carry sufficient weight to protect the consumer against ruthless exploitation.

This bill is not going to get through Parliament without a bitter fight, but the Labor majority is determined to put it on the statute books as quickly as possible. It will then remain for the new authority to begin putting the coal-mining industry back on its feet. The job will be a tremendous one technically. It will mean a race to put behind a half-century of greed, ineptitude and technical failure under private enterprise. But beyond that it will be necessary to restore confidence among the present workers, create hope for those entering the industry and make conditions attractive enough to lure back skilled miners.

The Labor government does not underrate this job. Britain is assuming state ownership of her most vital commodity at a time when the need for it is greatest and production is most deficient. Many of us realize that it is no test of socialism to acquire an industry when it is in a state of bankruptcy and decay and at its lowest ebb of manpower and efficiency. But there is no other way out if the industry is to be saved at all. That is the case for nationalization of the mines; small wonder that the majority of Britons favor it.

Gestapo Methods in Canada

by M. J. Coldwell, M. P.

VIOLATIONS OF OATHS of secrecy and the giving of confidential information to the agents of a foreign power must be dealt with according to the law. Canada is unanimous upon these points.

That, however, cannot condone violations of the fundamental rights of traditional British and Canadian citizenship in obtaining evidence and in giving accused persons a proper trial. Persons accused under the Official Secrets Act of Canada have been treated in a manner which no liberty-loving Canadian can excuse.

Under the Canadian War Measures Act, the government was given wide powers to deal with all situations that might arise in connection with the country's prosecution of the war. Persons could be arrested on suspicion, and under the Defense of Canada Regulations, set up under the authority of the War Measures Act, they could be interned without open trial.

Upon the discovery that information had been conveyed to a foreign power by persons in positions of trust, the government passed Order-in-Council No. 6444, on October 6, 1945. Both the Order-in-Council and the information conveyed to the government by an employee of the Russian Embassy, Mr. Igor Gouzenko, were top secrets known only to the government, although the fact that information had been conveyed to Canadian authorities by Gouzenko was revealed in the strictest confidence to the leaders of opposition parties in the House of Commons.

M. J. Coldwell is head of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation.

On February 5, 1945, Order-in-Council P. C. No. 411 was passed, setting up a Royal Commission consisting of two Justices of the Supreme Court of Canada—Mr. Justice Tachereau and Mr. Justice Kellock. They were given the widest possible powers to summon persons and require them to give evidence under oath.

Under these powers, 13 persons were arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for questioning. No charge was laid against them and they were held incommunicado, in some cases for more than two weeks. They were not given access to counsel; they were not allowed to communicate with their friends, and, in some cases, their families were for several days unaware of their whereabouts or why they were held. They were confined in separate rooms at the headquarters of the Mounted Police; were never alone; were not allowed to send uncensored letters; and, in several cases, accused persons were kept in small rooms with windows securely fastened and with lights burning at night. Dr. Shugar, who has already been acquitted, states that he was incarcerated in a room the dimensions of which were nine by ten feet; a 200-watt light was kept on each night.

The accused first were interviewed by an officer of the Mounted Police, and then taken before the Royal Commission, where they were subjected to long questioning regarding allegations of which they had no prior knowledge. No warning was given as to what use would be made of their answers—all of which were taken down by competent reporters.

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Clearly, the procedures adopted are violations of the fundamental processes of Canadian and British law. A striking contrast is provided by the procedure adopted in Great Britain when Dr. Allan May was arrested, charged in Bow Street Police Court in London within a few hours and allowed to plead when a definite charge was laid. In London processes of law were followed precisely, and his plea of guilty has resulted in a sentence of ten years' penal servitude.

In the House of Commons on March 18, immediately after the Prime Minister had made a full statement of the information which resulted in the arrest of suspected persons, I protested against these procedures. I particularly mentioned that I had been informed that, in addition to being held incommunicado and denied access to friends and counsel, some of the accused had been held for at least six days and nights in brilliantly lighted rooms. I requested the Minister of Justice to inform the House regarding this serious disregard for democratic justice.

On March 21 the Minister of Justice read a letter to Parliament, in which a responsible Mounted Police official, Commissioner S. T. Wood, stated that any charge that "brilliant lights were installed in any of the rooms is not only untrue, but ridiculous."

No one charged that brilliant lights had been installed, but a 200-watt lamp in a ten-by-nine room is a brilliant light. The Commissioner stated that after the first few nights, the normal lights were replaced by a shaded reading lamp. I have spoken to three of the accused, who declare that no shaded reading lamps were placed in the rooms in which they were held.

The manner in which the accused have been treated is clearly a violation of every principle upon which our process of law is founded. A serious aspect of the method employed is, of course, that the Royal Commission consists of two Justices of the Supreme Court, with which, in the event of subsequent appeals, the final decisions may rest.

The War Measures Act, under which action was taken, lapsed last December, when the war was officially declared at an end. Hence, the government has no legal powers to undertake similar action violating Anglo-Saxon legal tradition at the present time.

Reconversion Pains Out West

by Bruce Bliven

Salt Lake

THE END of the war has hit the inter-mountain region hard. Utah and adjacent states had a lot of war industry, much of which has been canceled. There is no rush of new residents, as there is in the Pacific Coast states, to cushion the shock. In Salt Lake, for the first time on my tour of the West, I found it easy to get a hotel room, a seat in a restaurant, a berth on a train. I was told that there are plenty of people looking for work in nearly all trades, though housewives still say domestic workers are unobtainable. Employment is already down 25 percent in spite of big backlogs of orders for consumer goods.

Utah, and to some extent the inter-mountain region as a whole, needs new light industry—lots of it—to balance its dependence on agriculture and mining. Above all, it needs more electricity and water. Both of these will be provided, for Utah, if the dramatic new Colorado River-Great Basin project is carried out. From the very high upper reaches of the Green and Yampa Rivers, tributaries of the Colorado, water will be carried along the top of the Wasatch Range and brought down into the fertile west-central part of Utah. Huge quantities of power will be created, and the amount of land under irrigation should be doubled, while thousands of additional acres which now have only a little, will have plenty of water.

One project which is part of this plan is really breath-taking. There are once valuable mines on the top of the Wasatch Range, with silver and other ores, whose lower levels are flooded and unworkable. Nearly 6,000 feet below the peak of an 8,700-foot mountain, a nine-mile horizontal shaft will be driven, its inner end connecting with a 5,700-foot elevator to the top. The shaft, besides serving other purposes, will drain the surplus water out of the lower levels of the mines, which presumably have ores of great value. (They have already earned a third of a billion dollars.) At the juncture of the nine-mile gallery and the elevator shaft, in the very bowels of the mountain, a big power plant will be constructed.

The people who now live on top of the mountain will move into the valley. The mine workers who need to go up for their jobs will commute every day—a nine-mile trolley ride straight into the mountain, while you read your morning paper, and a 1.25-mile elevator trip. Utah takes all this quite calmly.

Geneva.—Just outside Provo lies the vast hulk of the $300-million Geneva steel mill, towering grimly over the railroad line and almost completely closed down. Utah and the inter-mountain region urgently need that mill. They also have a lively fear that Uncle

This is the last of a series of articles reporting conditions in several Western states.—THE EDITORS

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Sam will sell it to the U. S. Steel Corporation, which will keep it closed down to retain for the East its dominance in the industry.

Free-Enterprise Oratory. – After traveling more than 9,000 miles and visiting 16 Western cities, I can report that I was never in any one town as long as two days without reading the announcement of a speech to a local businessmen's club praising free enterprise. Usually the speaker was a local man, or one from a nearby city. Either free enterprise must be pretty wonderful, or it must be under attack in some serious way of which this writer is ignorant. Or else a lot of its advocates have a guilty feeling that it is not very good, and are talking to convince themselves.

Paging Mr. Babbitt. – The airlines are enormously popular in the Far West, where distances are so great, and it is not hard to see why. In addition to the obvious advantages of speed, exciting views of the landscape, free meals and costs roughly equal to Pullman fares, the traveler by air gets his ego maximated by the constant use of his name. He is paged in the hotel lobby where the air-field limousine picks him up, checked again by name at the curb, checked when he weighs his baggage and (at least in the West, on some lines) in flight. This would not be so good for an absconding cashier; but businessmen obviously love it.

Wasting Food. – As of the end of March, and the early part of April, I saw no evidence anywhere in the West of concern about famine in Europe or Asia, or any real effort to cope with it. On trains and in hotels, portions were uniformly huge, big baskets of bread or rolls were on every table, there was no suggestion that this is not a world, as well as a land, of plenty. Indeed, on every score (except great, generalized hostility to Russia), the other continents and countries appear remote and unimportant, as our people lunge ahead with their postwar projects. At least in this frame of reference, and as of a month ago, America seems a great drowsy giant, perhaps with a heart of gold but in no sense awake to the problems and responsibilities of the hour.

Jackson and the Intellectuals

by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

One means by which later conservative historians contrived to neutralize Jacksonian democracy was to obscure its intellectual content and thus to deny it any serious place in the American political tradition. The impression was created that Clay and Webster enjoyed a monopoly over logic and argument, and that Jackson was backed only by frontiersmen clad in buckskin and by ignorant demagogues. Actually the Jacksonians knew in considerable detail what they were up against and what they intended to do about it—and their views, moreover, are full in the core of our radical tradition. The American emphasis on the class struggle, it should be noted, long preceded Marx. Indeed, both Marx and Lenin have agreed that, in Lenin's words, "He who recognizes only *the class struggle is not yet a Marxist; he may be found not to have gone beyond the boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and politics." This dictum should be kept in mind, both when conservatives try to exclude the class struggle from the American past and when Communists try to claim its existence as a specific native endorsement for their brand of totalitarianism.*

THE JACKSONIAN REVOLUTION rested on premises which the struggles of the thirties hammered together into a kind of practical social philosophy. The outline of this way of thinking about society was clear. It was stated and restated on every level of political discourse from presidential messages to stump speeches, from newspaper editorials to private letters. It provided the intellectual background without which the party battles of the day cannot be understood.

The Jacksonians believed that there was a deep-rooted conflict in society between the "producing" and "non-producing" classes—the farmers and laborers on the one hand, and the business community on the other. The business community was considered to hold high cards in this conflict through its network of banks and corporations, its control of education and the press, above all, its power over the state; it was therefore able to strip the working classes of the fruits of their labor. "Those who produce all wealth," said Amos Kendall, "are themselves left poor. They see principalities extending and palaces built around them, without being aware that the entire expense is a tax upon themselves."

If they wished to preserve their liberty, the producing classes would have to unite against the movement "to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful." Constitutional prescriptions and political

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promises afforded no sure protection. "We have heretofore been too disregardful of the fact," observed William M. Gouge, "that social order is quite as dependent on the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth, as on political organization." The program now was to resist every attempt to concentrate wealth and power further in a single class.

The specific problem was to control the power of the capitalist groups, mainly Eastern, for the benefit of the non-capitalist groups, farmers and laboring men, East, West and South. The basic Jacksonian ideas came naturally enough from the East, which best understood the nature of business power and reacted most sharply against it. The legend that Jacksonian democracy was the explosion of the frontier, lifting into the government some violent men filled with rustic prejudices against big business, does not explain the facts, which were somewhat more complex. Jacksonian democracy was rather a second American phase of that enduring struggle between the business community and the rest of society which is the guarantee of freedom in a liberal capitalist state.

LIKE any social philosophy, Jacksonian democracy drew on several intellectual traditions. Basically, it was a revival of Jeffersonianism, but the Jeffersonian inheritance was strengthened by the infusion of fresh influences: notably the anti-monopolistic tradition, formulated primarily by Adam Smith and expounded in America by Gouge, Leggett, Sedgwick, Cambreleng; and the pro-labor tradition, formulated primarily by William Cobbett and expounded by G. H. Evans, Ely Moore, John Ferral.

The inspiration of Jeffersonianism was so all-pervading and fundamental for its every aspect that Jacksonian democracy can be properly regarded as a somewhat more hard-headed and determined version of Jeffersonian democracy. But it is easy to understate the differences. Jefferson himself, though widely revered and quoted, had no personal influence on any of the leading Jacksonians save perhaps Van Buren. Madison and Monroe were accorded still more vague and perfunctory homage. The radical Jeffersonians, Taylor, Randolph and Macon, who had regarded the reign of Virginia as almost an era of betrayal, were much more vivid in the minds of the Jacksonians.

The new industrialism had to be accepted: banks, mills, factories, industrial capital, industrial labor. These were all distasteful realities for orthodox Jeffersonians and, not least, the propertyless workers. "The mobs of great cities," Jefferson had said, "add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body." The very ferocity of his images expressed the violence of his feelings. "When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe," he told Madison, "we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there." It was a universal sentiment among his followers. "No man should live," as Nathaniel Macon used to say, "where he can hear his neighbor's dog bark."

Yet the plain political necessity of winning the labor vote obliged a change of mood. Slowly, with some embarrassment, the Jeffersonian preferences for the common man were enlarged to take in the city workers. In 1833 the New York *Evening Post,* declaring that, if anywhere, a large city of mixed population would display the evils of universal suffrage, asked if this had been the case in New York and answered: No. Amasa Walker set out the same year to prove that "great cities are not *necessarily*, as the proverb says, 'great sores,' " and looked forward cheerily to the day when they would be "great fountains of healthful moral influence, sending forth streams that shall fertilize and bless the land." The older Theodore Sedgwick added that the cause of the bad reputation of cities was economic: "It is the sleeping in garrets and cellars; the living in holes and dens; in dirty, unpaved, unlighted streets, without the accommodations of wells, cisterns, baths, and other means of cleanliness and health"—clear up this situation, and cities will be all right.

Jackson himself never betrayed any of Jefferson's revulsion to industrialism. He was, for example, deeply interested by the mills of Lowell in 1833, and his inquiries respecting hours, wages and production showed, observers reported, "that the subject of domestic manufactures had previously engaged his attentive observation." His presidential allusions to the "producing classes" always included the workingmen of the cities.

IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, then, the Jacksonians revised the Jeffersonian faith for America. They moderated that side of Jeffersonianism which talked of agricultural virtue, independent proprietors, "natural" property, abolition of industrialism, and expanded immensely that side which talked of economic equality, the laboring classes, human rights and the control of industrialism. This readjustment enabled the Jacksonians to attack economic problems which had baffled and defeated the Jeffersonians. It made for a greater realism, and was accompanied by a general toughening of the basic Jeffersonian conceptions. While the loss of "property" was serious, both symbolically and intellectually, this notion had been for most Jeffersonians somewhat submerged next to the romantic tinge of the free and virtuous cultivator; and the Jacksonians grew much more insistent about theories of capitalist alienation. Where, for the Jeffersonians, the tensions of class conflict tended to dissolve in vague generalizations about the democracy and the aristocracy, many Jacksonians would have agreed with A. H. Wood's remark, "It is in vain to talk of Aristocracy and Democracy—these terms are too variable and indeterminate to convey adequate ideas of the present

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opposing interests; the division is between the rich and the poor—the warfare is between them."

This greater realism was due, in the main, to the passage of time. The fears of Jefferson were now actualities. One handled fears by exorcism, but actualities by adjustment. For the Jeffersonians, mistrust of banks and corporations was chiefly a matter of theory; for the Jacksonians it was a matter of experience. Jefferson rejected the Industrial Revolution and sought to perpetuate the smiling society which preceded it (at least, so the philosopher; facts compelled the President toward a different policy), while Jackson, accepting industrialism as an ineradicable and even useful part of the economic landscape, sought rather to control it. Jeffersonian democracy looked wistfully back toward a past slipping further every minute into the mists of memory, while Jacksonian democracy came directly to grips with a rough and unlovely present.

The interlude saw also the gradual unfolding of certain consequences of the democratic dogma which had not been so clear to the previous generation. Though theoretically aware of the relation between political and economic power, the Jeffersonians had been occupied, chiefly, with establishing political equality. This was their mission, and they had little time to grapple with the economic questions.

But the very assertion of political equality raised inevitably the whole range of problems involved in property and class conflict. How could political equality mean anything without relative economic equality among the classes of the country? This question engaged the Jacksonians. As Orestes A. Brownson said, "A Loco-foco is a Jeffersonian Democrat, who having realized political equality, passed through one phase of the revolution, now passes on to another, and attempts the realization of social equality, so that the actual condition of men in society shall be in harmony with their acknowledged rights as citizens." The Jacksonians thus opened irrevocably the economic question.

A SECOND SOURCE of inspiration for the Jacksonians was the libertarian economic thought stirred up by Adam Smith and *The Wealth of Nations*. Believers in the myth of Adam Smith, as expounded by present-day publicists both of the Right and of the Left, may find this singular; but the real Adam Smith was rich in ammunition for the Jacksonians as for any foe of business manipulation of the state.

The Wealth of Nations quietly, precisely and implacably attacked the alliance of government and business, showing how monopoly retarded the economic growth of nations and promoted the exploitation of the people. It was, in effect, a criticism of the kind of mercantilist policy which, in modified form, Hamilton had instituted in the Federalist program of the 1790's. Smith's classic argument against monopoly appealed strongly to the Jacksonians, and his distinction between productive and unproductive labor converged with the Jacksonian distinction between the producers and the non-producers. They adopted his labor theory of value, in preference to the physiocratic doctrine which argued that value originated exclusively in land, and toward which Jefferson leaned. Smith's currency views were on the moderate hard-money line, favoring the suppression of notes under five pounds. And, contrary to the Adam Smith of folklore, the real Smith did not object to government intervention which would protect, not exploit, the nation. "Those exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals," he wrote, discussing the question of banking control, "which might endanger the security of the whole society, are, and ought to be, restrained by the laws of all governments; of the most free, as well as of the most despotical." His advocacy of education and his general hope for the well-being of the farming and laboring classes further recommended him to the Jacksonians.

A THIRD important stimulus to the Jacksonians was the foaming tide of social revolt in Britain, reaching them primarily through the writings of Willam Cobbett. As the "Peter Porcupine" of Federalist journalism, Cobbett had been an early object of Jeffersonian wrath. But, on returning to Britain after some years in America, Cobbett discovered that the conservative values he had been so stalwartly defending were rapidly disappearing before the smoky ravages of industrialism. He gave splendid and angry expression to the hatred of independent workingmen for the impending degradation, and his fluent, robust, abusive prose created a new political consciousness among the common people of Britain.

A vehement advocate of the rights of workers to the full fruits of their industry, and a savage enemy of the new financial aristocracy, he found a rapt audience in America, especially in the labor movement. *Paper Against Gold*, reprinted in New York in 1834, helped the hard-money campaign. William H. Hale of New York, the author of *Useful Knowledge for the Producers of Wealth*, and Thomas Brothers, the editor of the *Radical Reformer* of Philadelphia, were perhaps his leading disciples, but his unquenchable vitality inspired the whole radical wing.

Cobbett on his part watched events across the Atlantic with immense enthusiasm. Jackson's fight against the Bank stirred him to the inordinate conclusion that Jackson was "the bravest and greatest man now living in this world, or that ever has lived in this world, as far as my knowledge extends."

The radical democrats had a definite conception of their relation to history. From the Jeffersonian analysis, fortified by the insights of Adam Smith and Cobbett, they outlined an interpretation of modern times which gave meaning and status to the Jacksonian struggles. Power, said the Jacksonians, goes with property.

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In the Middle Ages the feudal nobility held power in society through its monopoly of land under feudal tenure. The overthrow of feudalism, with the rise of new forms of property, marked the first step in the long march toward freedom. The struggle was carried on by the rising business community—"commercial, or business capital, against landed capital; merchants, traders, manufacturers, artisans, against the owners of the soil, the great landed nobility." It lasted from the close of the twelfth century to the Whig Revolution of 1688 in Britain.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF CAPITAL thus destroyed the aristocracy of land. The business classes here played their vital role in the drama of liberty. The victory over feudalism, as the *Democratic Review* put it, "opened the way for the entrance of the democratic principle into the government." But the business community gained from this exploit an undeserved reputation as the champion of liberty. Its real motive had been to establish itself in power, not to free mankind; to found government on property, not on the equal rights of the people. "I know perfectly well what I am saying," cried George Bancroft, "and I assert expressly, and challenge contradiction, that in all the history of the world there is not to be found an instance of a commercial community establishing rules for self-government upon democratic principles." "It is a mistake to suppose commerce favorable to liberty," added Fenimore Cooper. "Its tendency is to a monied aristocracy." "Instead of setting man free," said Amos Kendall, it has "only increased the number of his masters."

The next great blow for liberty was the American Revolution, "effected not in favor of men in classes; . . . but in favor of men." But the work of Hamilton halted the march of democracy. "He established the money power," wrote Van Buren, "upon precisely the same foundations upon which it had been raised in England." The subsequent history of the United States was the struggle to overthrow the Hamiltonian policy and fulfill the ideals of the Revolution.

What of the future? The Jacksonians were sublimely confident: history was on their side. "It is now for the yeomanry and the mechanics to march at the head of civilization," said Bancroft. "The merchants and the lawyers, that is, the moneyed interest, broke up feudalism. The day for the multitude has now dawned." "All classes, each in turn, have possessed the government," exclaimed Brownson; "and the time has come for all predominance of class to end; for Man, the People, to rule."

This was not simply a national movement. It was a movement of all people, everywhere, against their masters, and the Jacksonians watched with keen interest the stirrings of revolt abroad. Jackson and his cabinet joined in the celebrations in Washington which followed the Revolution of 1830 in France; and Van Buren, as Secretary of State, ordered the new government informed that the American people were "universally and enthusiastically in favor of that change, and of the principle upon which it was effected." (The Whigs, on the other hand, in spite of Clay's support of national revolutions in Greece and South America, remained significantly lukewarm.) Lamennais, the eloquent voice of French popular aspirations, was read in Jacksonian circles. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* influenced Orestes A. Brownson, and in 1839 *Le Livre du Peuple* was published in Boston under the title of *The People's Own Book*, translated by Nathaniel Greene, postmaster of Boston and brother of Charles Gordon Greene.

Democrats followed with similar enthusiasm the progress of the Reform Bill in England, while the Whigs sympathized with the Tories. The Chartist uprisings at the end of the decade were greeted with delight by the Democratic press. British reformers returned this interest. Not only Cobbett and Savage Landor but the veteran radical Jeremy Bentham observed Jackson's administration with approval. Bentham, a friend of John Quincy Adams, had been disappointed at the triumph in 1828 of this military hero; but in 1830 he heard read aloud Jackson's first message to Congress. The old man was highly pleased to discover greater agreement with the new President than with the old. Later he wrote that lengthy and cryptic memorandum entitled *Anti-Senatica*, intended to aid Jackson in the problems of his administration.

JACKSONIANS everywhere had this faith in the international significance of their fight. For this reason, as well as from a desire to capture their votes, Democratic leaders made special appeals to newly naturalized citizens. Where many Whigs tended to oppose immigration and demand sanctions against it, Democrats welcomed the newcomers with open arms and attacked the nativist agitation. The United States must remain a refuge from tyranny. "The capitalist class," said Samuel J. Tilden, "has banded together all over the world and organized the *modern dynasty of associated wealth*, which maintains an unquestioned ascendancy over most of the civilized portions of our race." America was the proving-ground of democracy, and it was the mission of American Democrats to exhibit to the world the glories of government by the people. They were on the spearhead of history. They would not be denied. "With the friends of freedom throughout the world," declared Theophilus Fisk, "let us be co-workers." "The People of the World," cried Fanny Wright, "have but one Cause."

(To be continued.)

This is the seventh of ten instalments from The Age of Jackson *(Little, Brown), condensed with the approval of the author, who has added some new material further to point up the many parallels between our times and those of a century ago.*—THE EDITORS

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Hollywood and Vine

Politics in Cinemaland

HOLLYWOOD is gathering its talents and forces for the coming political battles. Picture and radio people seem acutely conscious of the issues. They are not all on the same side. But the most influential are pretty much on the liberal side. The income-bracket test does not hold good in Hollywood. A $5,000-a-week writer, actor, director or producer is apt to be an all-out supporter of the New Deal program. A front-office man struggling along on $1,000 a week may take the more conservative view of the entrepreneur bosses. Creative-talent lines, not class lines, seem to be the determining political factor out here.

Politics Among the Stars. – This coalition of talent, money and fame is politically effective. It has been felt in national campaigns. It was a force in retiring some of the most consistent congressional open-shoppers and America Firsters, and in replacing them with Helen Gahagan Douglas, Ned R. Healy, George Outland, Ellis Patterson, Clyde Doyle, Will Rogers Jr. and others.

Rankin's False Alarm. – Political action among Hollywood talent groups has wrung agonized screams from the usual quarters. Representative John E. Rankin has been the most vocal. The Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions helped to campaign against him in his Mississippi district in 1944. Then Rankin sent his House Un-American Activities Committee investigators to Hollywood. They found no evidence of race riots, lynchings, poll taxes, Jim Crowism, or of congressmen being elected by the votes of three or four percent of the people in their districts. But Rankin hinted at Red plots against free enterprise. He said the alien domination of Hollywood threatened the Christian American way of life. Actually, the proportion of aliens in the motion-picture-producing industry is one-half of one percent. Among actors, where it is highest, it is 1.5 percent. This did not bother Rankin; he was getting plenty of space in the Hearst press. Suddenly, however, the investigation has been called off. "Red Hollywood" will not be pitilessly exposed—apparently because there is nothing subversive to lay bare. It is slightly anti-climactic.

Writers in Action. – Emmet Lavery, screen writer and dramatist, is a candidate for Congress from the 16th California district, which includes the Beverly Hills and Westwood areas. He is president of the Screen Writers' Guild and author of the current Broadway play, "The Magnificent Yankee." . . . Frank Scully, film writer and columnist, is running for the state assembly to succeed Albert Dekker, the actor, known as the poor man's Bob Hope. Dekker says he must run for a living this year, but he is being urged to run for the office of mayor of Los Angeles in the next city election. . . . Lucille Gleason, the actress, is a candidate for the state secretaryship in California. . . . In politics Hollywood people are beginning to play leading as well as supporting roles.

KKK Rides Again. – Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, bouncing back from Nuremberg where he has been observing the Nazi war-criminal trials, immediately grabbed the headlines from Governor Earl Warren, his older and more sedate rival for the California governorship. Kenny stirred up some excitement by ripping into the renascent Ku Klux Klan.

The hooded bedsheet brigade has been burning fiery crosses in small California towns and throwing rocks through the windows of Jews, Negroes and Catholics in the name of white Gentile supremacy and Protestant Americanism. Kenny cracked down on this incipient Nazism. He has just seen some of its results in Germany.

Presidential Possibilities. – This governorship fight between Kenney and Warren is one of the interesting acts in the 1946 political show. It can conceivably have a bearing on the 1948 or 1952 presidential picture.

Realistically aware of how fatal the comparison between himself and Roosevelt would be, Warren resisted a GOP movement to draft him for the 1944 nomination. In the meantime, as Governor, he has built up a fairly good verbal record. He has made a few tentative progressive gestures. He has acquired some labor friends—the right wing of the state AFL organization is for him. Come 1948, and he might be just what the GOP is looking for in the way of a compromise candidate, if he does not die on the political vine first.

Kenny is Warren in reverse. He is a liberal with a flair for getting on well with conservatives. Some of his radical friends think he gets along a little too well with such persons as Ed Pauley. But he shrugs this criticism off. It is part of the political game. He is a sharp, able politician and a tremendous vote-getter. Hollywood is virtually all-out for Kenny.

Filmflam. – The film world's wistful yen for serious recognition is hitting on all cylinders. At the last Nobel anniversary dinner, Harry Warner of Warner Brothers said: "Motion pictures, speaking their international language, must help to create international good will." . . . Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, says: "We must accept the broadened role of the motion picture as a tribute to its multiple powers." . . . Barney Balaban, head of Paramount Pictures, says: "The film industry is more conscious of its responsibility as a mirror of America." . . . But of 51 high-budget pictures now shooting on major movie lots, three or four may have a vestigial remnant of meaning when they emerge from the studio assembly lines. Advance blurbs indicate the rest will be fairy-tale fluff, escapism and evasion. And in a world saturated with blood and fear, most studios figure that what we really want is more terror on celluloid. They have upped their budgets on horror pictures. . . . However, there is a new ferment at work in Hollywood. Good men, matured by war, are coming back to the film factories. They have new ideas. A year from now those ideas will begin to register on the screen.

Hollywood S. V. R.

This department, reporting the news of Hollywood, will appear in the New Republic *at frequent intervals.* – THE EDITORS

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Poet and Peasant

THE RECOLLECTIONS that Marc Chagall (1887-) paints of life in his home town, Vitebsk, Russia, and of his married life later in Paris, which show people moved by love or thinking about an unhappy past or present, are statements that stay very close to the surface, hardly ever indicating the artist's deepest feeling. Instead, the paintings achieve a thin, high-pitched, feverish vitality from harried, awkward form and exceedingly dramatic color that is very odd in hue, thin and pure. The color creates so much bizarre excitement that the rabbis, the swooning lovers, the flying peasants and precocious animals in his paintings take part in a life that is inspired and poetic, but somewhat strained and unreal. The color is curiously hollow, without any density or depth, and the compositions are flattened and made unconvincing by a simple-minded cubism. The painting has a floating quality—as though it were a thin, artificial surface without any backing or foundation.

Chagall's art, now on exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, is too illustrative and weak in expression to be an important force in modern painting. (He does contribute something in color, even though it is unfulfilled color. I can't take his poetic representation seriously because it is predominantly a literary matter.) Actually his painting is very provincial in its spirit and as close to calendar art as it is to great painting. Except in some of the early cubist works, he stops at about the same place that an illustrator stops—after the subject matter has been listed, the space filled, the color harmonized and made dramatic and the subject matter recognizable. There is never the thorough composing of lines, forms and colors that makes a painting appear a solid affair of color and as though it had been soaked in a particular personal feeling. The sensation given off by a Chagall is like perfume and the structure is thin and papery. His paintings are too costumy and literary to be great.

Chagall's painting has always been split between the desire to illustrate and the desire to create deeply expressive (difficult, rebellious, abstract) works. The split has made his canvases—choked as they are with acrobats, emotionalists and husky, satisfied Russians—weak, limp and creaky. His best paintings, done between 1908 and the early twenties, are half-cubist, half-realistic, strongly composed, have bright, jazzy color and personal drawing. Since the twenties his work has had few of these features, and the chi-chi tendency, always apparent, has increased.

Chagall plays the magician's role in his pictures, transforming an everyday world into a carnival and a wonderland. The people never stand upright on the ground; instead they lie flat on it or hang suspended over it, and do a lot of house-top sitting and flying about in the air with or without their heads. His animals act like human beings and are treated that way by the human beings. Not many people will find the imagery very fantastic or subtle. It always follows a logical course. The scenes take place in the sky because they are memories and fantasies, lovers lie in flower arrangements or sprout the flowers out of their own heads, the pregnant woman points to an image of her coming child standing upright in her belly. Actually the one strange thing about this world is that there is so much of it on each painting. The effect isn't so much one of seeing an unreal world as being forced to take in too much real world in one gulp.

It is the homely, anchored-in-soil look of the early paintings that makes them so unusual and worthwhile. Chagall consciously painted them to have something new and original in every spot and he succeeded: they are completely disparate and it is impossible to view any one of them as a whole. There is absolutely no movement from section to section and each area has to be taken alone, almost as an independent painting. No other work of that period gives more of a sense of against-the-grain painting and of an artist who was not sure at any point where he was going and was worried at every point that he had gone in the wrong direction. His lines always seem to be thrusts against the obvious, conventional direction, and the rhythm of his drawing—if you can call it that—is the choppiest affair of opposing movement. These first compositions, which appear as obvious as children's paintings, give the most uncompromising effect of personal creation by his constant, awkward-seeming struggle against the cliché maneuver.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

During periods of "critical civilian shortages," market centers heavily overshipped to Army posts supplies of butter, meat and cheese. As a result of these overshipments, the committee found 500,000 pounds of flour infested with weevils, 10,000 pounds of wormy dried fruits, 1,000 or more cases of unusable canned milk, 14,000 pounds of mildewed macaroni and spaghetti and more than 1,000 bags of old coffee.—*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

"I'd like to get a job with the Americans. But I want it to be a decent job where I'll be respected as the wife of a field marshal."—*From an interview with Frau von Blomberg by Ken Clark of* PM.

. . . The Oil Heat Institute, now holding its national convention here, will spend $7,000 for entertainment at its banquet in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel tomorrow night.—*From the Philadelphia* Record *of April 24.*

Directors of the Oil Heat Institute of America have been authorized to protest against extension of the life of the Office of Price Administration, at the Institute's 23rd annual meeting at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel.—*From the Philadelphia* Bulletin *of April 25.*

Brain Storm

Indiana's Appellate Court today held that a public officer in Indiana may not be removed from office because he is insane. The vote was 4-2.—UP *dispatch from Indianapolis.*

Total-War Department

"The men held at Lichfield were mostly avoiding combat and if they had been properly tried and then taken out and shot, there would not have been this trouble."—*Lieutenant Morris McGee, defense attorney, as quoted in the Chicago* Sun.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Progressives and Communists

SIR: American progressives must very soon make several basic decisions regarding their own policies and convictions. In the first place, they will have to decide whether they believe that the present critical tension in international affairs is due *exclusively* to the imperialistic, capitalistic, power-mad warmongering of the Western democracies aimed at the destruction of the peace-loving workers' democracy of the Soviet Union, as the resolutions passed at the recent Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington would indicate, or whether the problem is a more complicated one involving the achievement of mutual trust between differing forms of government, with both sides now seeking unilateral advantage and security and thereby deepening the distrust and tension.

In the second place, and this is closely related to the first essential decision, liberals must decide whether it is their conviction that the *sole* objective of the progressive movement is economic security, or whether human freedom, which has historically been a co-equal dynamic of progressivism, is still a commendable objective without which "liberalism" or "progressivism" or "radicalism"—call it what you will—must inevitably degenerate into a sterile and self-defeating race for power *per se*.

Assuming, as I do, that the democratic progressives of America will decide for the second of the two alternatives in each case, they must then make a third strategic decision no less important than these first two: whether or not they can or should work *within the same political organizations* with those who have decided for the other alternatives, namely the Communists. I submit that if the American progressive movement is to survive and grow, this third decision must be in the negative, and for the following principal reasons.

No united-front organization will long remain united; it will become only a "front." This is sometimes, but not always, due to the fact that the Communists are more active, more consecrated, more zealous than their liberal associates. More pertinent is the fact that independent liberals, whether we like it or not, simply will not group themselves into a disciplined, semi-conspiratorial caucus whose aim is to retain or obtain control of the organization. Thus they are handicapped in their competition with even a small number of disciplined Communists who automatically follow their own leadership and make use of any legitimate differences of opinion to further their own strategic advantage.

Most liberals join an organization because of their sympathy with its program or because they want to support progressive legislation and elect liberal men and women to public office. With few exceptions, they have not had long experience in progressive organizations and know little about the internal problems of the Left. This is especially true of the new, young and enthusiastic liberals. If and when the question of Communist control is raised, they either disbelieve the charges or quit the organization in disgust, leaving the non-Communists in an increasingly hopeless minority. In any internal fight, the Communists have enormous assets in the activities of Martin Dies, John Rankin and their ilk. So irresponsibly and so viciously have these arch-reactionaries branded all liberals and their organizations as "Communist" that all too many liberals no longer bother to make the distinction, and any honest progressive who with good reason identifies a Communist opens himself to attack as a "Red-baiter."

A final and more strategic reason for opposing the admission of Communists to progressive organizations is the practical political fact that a united-front movement, tending inevitably to be less united and more front, cannot in the long run win political power through democratic means. It can make considerable noise in the short run; it can win victories in certain special localities; but it is inevitably doomed to political defeat unless war and/or general chaos create special circumstances under which democratic processes are abandoned. This has been the experience throughout the world, and in Europe today, where the democratic liberals call themselves Socialists, country after country offers additional proof. One need only cite the case of Hungary, where a single slate of Socialist and Communist candidates resulted in a victory for the Smallholders Party, even in the industrial center of Budapest. In Britain, where the non-Communist Labor Party won such an overwhelming victory last July, the Communists, with their two Members of Parliament, are calling for a "unity" which would unquestionably mean political suicide for the British Labor Party. American progressives should pay heed to a distinguished Britisher who is no Soviet-baiter. Mr. Harold Laski has just written a pamphlet in which he sees in the Communists' demand for affiliation with the Labor Party an effort to establish a one-party dictatorship in Britain (the New York *Times*, April 9, 1946).

The *New Republic* would perform a valuable and much-needed service to the cause of American progressivism if it opened its pages to a full and frank discussion of the internal problems of the Left in this country. Unless these problems are solved in a period when the presence of Franklin D. Roosevelt no longer lends its unifying strength, American liberals will sputter, fume, protest and denounce, but will get nowhere fast.

Washington, D. C. JAMES LOEB JR.

[Mr. Loeb, who is national director of the Union for Democratic Action, raises issues which are basic to the development of the progressive movement in America. We have asked several liberals with conflicting viewpoints to comment on the issues raised by him, and shall publish later a statement of our own position.—THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

John E. Glewer writes from Chicago protesting, "If it is decorous . . . for a high-ranking cleric to attack viciously those who disagree with him, it is certainly no less decorous to answer him in his own language. So here are Cardinal Spellman's words thrown back at him: "The bloodstream of humankind is poisoned by the plague of militant clericalism, its body plundered by the greed of its hierarchy, its soul scourged by their scorn and contempt for human reason. . . ." Mr. Glewer cites the friendliness displayed by the Catholic hierarchy toward the Franco government as typical of its anti-liberal influence.

The Minersville Defense Committee, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco 15, California, asks help for ten conscientious objectors from Minersville, California. These men, for hanging surplus blankets from the barracks rafters in a Civilian Public Service camp, face conviction as felons and a possible sentence of five years each in federal prison. The Defense Committee says that in fact, the men are being prosecuted because of a passive-resistance campaign which they have been directing for some time against the Civilian Public Service Camp system. Money is needed to publicize the case and meet legal and other expenses.

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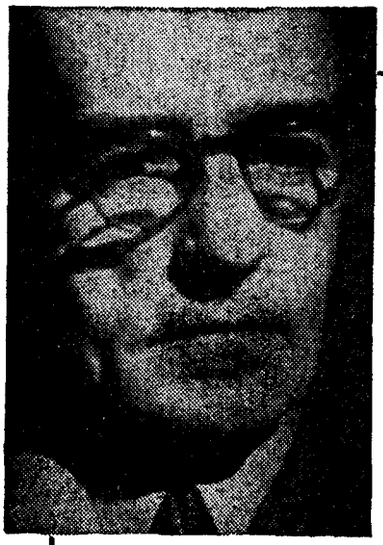

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About the author

"Graciliano Ramos is notable among contemporary Brazilian writers for a severity of style, an accuracy of social and moral observation, and an intensity of tragic sensibility." —*The Nation*

"Senhor Ramos is one of the leading novelists of Brazil's literary Renaissance."
—EDWIN BARRY BORGUM, *New York Times Book Review*

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—ERICO VERISSIMO, *Brazilian Literature*

And about the translation

"Vivid" (*New York Times*)—"Faithful and scrupulous"—(*The Nation*)

Translated from the Portuguese by L. C. Kaplan

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Books in Review

Trotsky's Stalin

A BOOK postponed at the time of Pearl Harbor until the end of the war, so as not to offend a wartime ally of America, is finally off the press.[1] The book is about a grim and astonishingly successful mediocrity by a brilliant and bitter failure. This story of Stalin by his chief and late adversary opens with the dictator's birth in 1879 and closes with his seizure of power in 1923. From its pages Stalin emerges as a plodding thief and distorter of his victims' ideas and as a plotting super-Borgia—the suspected poisoner of Lenin and Gorky; the actual slayer of Bukharin, Kamenev and countless others; and the possible executioner of Trotsky himself. Trotsky's posthumous warning is that, though a mediocrity and an assassin, Stalin is not a nonentity. Look out! Stalin is not through yet, he is on the march! Such is the desperate cry of the exile in Mexico, as in August, 1940, from under van den Dreschd-Jackson's axe, Trotsky's blood and brain spill upon his last script.

But the warning is not to the world at large. It is addressed only to those who believe in Trotsky's own concept of revolution. He does not want them to be led astray by Stalin. He tells them that Stalin took everything from the revolution in Russia and gave it nothing in return —that this *kinto*, hooligan of Tiflis streets, was neither a proletarian nor an intellectual, and thus not the revolution's child but its murderer and robber.

Trotsky argues: Stalin's father was a petty, drunken artisan of peasant stock; his mother wanted her Soso to lift himself out from among his fellow pariahs into the privileged class of the clergy, and Stalin didn't protest—didn't break with religion till the age of twenty. As a revolutionist he was slow, dull, inefficient, treacherous—too Asiatic. He met Lenin and became close to him much later than he claims. And he wasn't too close or respectful, at that. He dared to dispute Lenin on the agrarian problem in 1906. Together with Molotov, he disregarded Lenin's wishes on the policy of the party's newspaper in 1912. He was not with Lenin, but rather cautiously on the sidelines, when the two Bolshevik insurrections of 1917, in July and October, were brewing. Yes, he saved Lenin from arrest and certain death that July, but only because (Trotsky insists) there was no one else handy to do it!

And so on and so forth, for hundreds of pages, with hundreds of examples and dates. Does it seem a needlessly detailed and pedantic refutation of Stalin's self-portrait of a genuine proletarian, fearless revolutionist and Lenin's only legitimate successor? It is but Trotsky's effort to prove that the revolution simply couldn't rear such a monster as Stalin. It was something else, says Trotsky, not his dearest, faultless revolution. It was the party's machine, not the party, that produced Stalin. Thus Trotsky tries to evade his own historic responsibility for this "opportunist with a bomb." Everything in the revolution (says he) except Stalin was preordained by Marx.

But, we may ask, what gave birth to the machine if not the party, and what empowered the party if not the revolution? How is it possible to separate the three from one another? And how was it that, having prophesied every phase in the revolution so "scientifically," both Lenin and Trotsky failed to predict Stalin? Actually, Trotsky inadvertently confesses that in all their iron-bound planning they didn't foresee even the three years of civil war—so much for their scientific prevision. And elsewhere he hints that the civil war did make a difference in many comrades, coarsening their morals, making of them bureaucrats or toadies of the sort Stalin could use so well then and later.

BUT THE COURSE of the revolution was laid much earlier than the civil war. Trotsky leaves no doubt as to that, wittingly or not. While the needs of the revolution—however fluctuatingly—were dictated by the masses, its morality was often inherent in its leadership. And this could not be uniformly high when, between 1905 and 1917, the party swarmed with Czarist police agents, including Malinovsky, so trusted and beloved by Lenin himself; when, in 1906, together with Stalin, Lenin approved of hold-ups as a means of replenishing the party's treasury, with a rather casual glance at the bodies of cashiers and guards killed in the grisly process. By being euphemistically called "expropriations," these didn't cease to be hold-ups and murders. Be it said to Trotsky's credit that he condemned such "guerrilla warfare" between the main battles of the revolution. But he almost excuses the party for Malinovsky, if not Malinovsky himself, by boasting that the agent-provocateur, although the Okhrana's best informer, was at the same time the party's most militant speaker in the Duma!

With such morality prevalent at the top, Stalin's advance up the party's stairs was no accident. According to Trotsky, Lenin needed not only Stalin's "firmness, grit, stubbornness," but also "his slyness." And as Editor Charles Malamuth adds, Stalin's very appointment in 1922 as the party's secretary-general—the most important stepping-stone to his dictatorship—was due to Lenin's desire to see at this post "the man most capable of strong-arm work." Why, then, should Lenin soon afterward be astounded by Stalin's use of his strong arm against him, Lenin? How could Lenin, shortly before his death, moan to his wife about Stalin's lack "of the most elementary honesty, the most simple human honesty"? For it was the same Lenin who cooled toward Dzerzhinsky not for his bloodiness as the Cheka head but for some subsequent and minor blunders as commissar of transport!

Lenin, Trotsky and other early leaders of the revolution made their own deathbed, the deathbed of their revolution. "Now lie in it," said history. They were surprised, anguished, furious. But many other intellectual Bolsheviks

[1] **Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence, by Leon Trotsky. Edited and translated from the Russian by Charles Malamuth. New York: Harper and Brothers. 516 pages. $5.**

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must have been far-sighted and moral enough to see the danger of corrupt means corrupting the end: Trotsky reveals that "the preponderant majority" of original party members left the party in later years. Yet Lenin and Trotsky, to the last, failed to comprehend their gravest error. They wouldn't recognize that, by being called bourgeois, morality does not cease to be morality—the very same elementary, simple, human honesty which Lenin vainly hoped to find in Stalin as the curtain went down on the years 1922-23.

History said to them: Once you trample on civil liberties while making bitter, hateful fun of liberals, of your closest spiritual kin and potential allies and rescuers, you must take the consequences. But Trotsky, while electing to be a soldier of the revolution on these terms, became indignant when bullets of his own molding came flying at him. And though he branded Stalin's behavior as oppressively undemocratic, he still denounced early opponents of the oppression he himself had once stood for in company with Stalin. Thus, at a date late enough to know better, even as he fought his last battle against Stalin behind the barricaded doors at Coyoacan, he besmirched the memory of the anti-Communist rebels of Kronstadt of 1921 by calling them "reactionary." They were soldiers and sailors, peasants and workers. He admits this in his book. They were in search of honesty and liberty. He wouldn't grant this motive of theirs, two decades after he had them ruthlessly shot down. This failure to heed history's plainest lesson, to acknowledge his cardinal error, is the fatal weakness of Trotsky's last will and testament.

A few other defects of the book should be mentioned, reflecting however on its editor and translator rather than its author. James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party in this country, in his statement of last February, protested against the choice of Mr. Malamuth by the publishers to edit the manuscript left by Trotsky so tragically unfinished. In the name of Trotsky's widow, Mr. Cannon urged American readers to disregard "unauthorized alterations and interpolations" which often "pervert and falsify Trotsky's political standpoint," mainly toward the book's end. None the less, Mr. Malamuth's own material is clearly marked as such, and the reader should be able to make his way accordingly.

My own objection is to a few inaccuracies of Mr. Malamuth's translation. Why render, time and again, *lezt' na stenu* literally as "to crawl on the wall" instead of idiomatically as "to be in a rage"? Why call the Social Democrats in the Duma now "faction," now "fraction," when "caucus" would have been nearer in sense and more understandable? And when a Russian intellectual speaks of *nasha publika* in such or such town, he does not mean "our public." He means "our group" or "our community," that is, fellow Bolsheviks or Mensheviks or liberals, as the case may be.

Withal it is a remarkable and valuable work. Cannon and his followers may recommend it in part only; Stalinists in no part at all. But other readers will find it of more than polemic interest. When years hence a true historian tackles a lifetime job of tracing and interpreting the whole of Stalin and his times, Trotsky's book will be an emotion-ridden and short-sighted but most significant primary source.

ALBERT PARRY

A New Literary Controversy

This is the second of two articles by Mr. Farrell on the literary controversy that has developed in the Communist press following an article by Isidor Schneider in New Masses, *October 23, 1945.* — THE EDITORS

ALBERT MALTZ, accepting the problem of conscience as Schneider formulated it, concludes that the artist must not be asked to manipulate character and events in terms of the needs of political expediency; in other words, the content of literature must not be dictated by political tactics. He claims that *New Masses* critics have long demanded that this be the case. With this point, he makes the further one of distinguishing between the artist as such, and the artist as a citizen. He argues that in his former capacity, the artist should be evaluated in terms of art; in regard to the latter, he should be dealt with editorially and politically. In *New Masses* of February 26, 1946, Howard Fast, in an article, "Art and Politics," and Joseph North, in another piece titled "No Retreat for the Writer," reply to Maltz sharply and heatedly. Fast and North both take the position that the artist must be politically responsible, but they do not clarify what they mean by responsibility. They base themselves on formally and unclearly stated Marxian premises concerning the class basis of ideology, but they do not concretely relate their premises to the dispute in question. Maltz likewise does not deal lucidly with this problem. In consequence he exposes himself to easy attack. But the attack is as arid as the article attacked. What North and Fast are trying, in substance, to say is that, on the one hand, the writer must accept ideological dictation, and, on the other hand, he will be free if he does. But if one dismisses the political overtones, the attacks on writers with whom they disagree politically, they state redundancies rather than a real position.

You cannot make writers "responsible" by telling them that they must be responsible. If you try to enforce responsibility by using moral pressure you are likely only to confound their already confused problems of "conscience." If they disbelieve, if they doubt, if they are critical of ideologies, political theories and party lines, then they can only gain a new attitude, a new orientation, a new set of values, by working out their doubts, their disbeliefs, their criticisms. In other words, they must write out of their own tensions. If they do not do this, they cannot enlist their emotions, their total nature, in what they do. The divided writer who sees his problem either as that of being a so-called journalist and propagandist, or of being an artist who writes for the future is, in reality, the writer who has not seriously and thoroughly enlisted his emotions in his work. No knowledge is definable as such until it is experienced subjectively. No matter how objective a writer may be, no matter how socially conscious he is, he must bring the data of the outer world directly into his own consciousness. These data must be assimilated into his personality: they must be organized into the system of attitudes, ideas, values, problems, feelings, tensions which are already a part of the very structure of his personality. In assimilation, there is a tension. Often one may write out of this very tension of assimilation. And if we merely take account of those facts which relate to the process of writing, we can see additional

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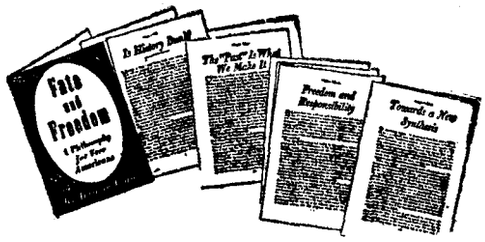

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—WALTON HAMILTON, *The New Republic*

"Stimulating is the word for this book. Not in many moons have I had such exhilarating mental exercise as reading it gave me."
—WALTER P. ARMSTRONG,
American Bar Association Journal

"His book displays a buoyant optimism and a confidence in man's capacity to determine his own future which, at this moment in history, are particularly refreshing."
—*New York Herald Tribune Book Review*

Fate and Freedom

BY JEROME FRANK

$3.00 at all bookstores or sent promptly C. O. D. if you will send your name and address to Dept. F7, SIMON AND SCHUSTER, 1230 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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reasons to warrant my conclusion concerning the aridity of these formal and merely didactic literary controversies.

The mere fact that writers claim that they have problems of conscience and that they need clarification demonstrates that, for them, writing must become a process of self-discovery. Along with this, it must also become an effort in which they strive to overcome their own weaknesses. If we regard writing, here, as a process involving self-discovery and the overcoming of self, it becomes additionally clear that we cannot reach fruitful conclusions by analyzing it in terms of hidebound ideological prescriptions. The confusing and complex nature of our period, also, gives added emphasis to the necessity of using literature as a means of self-discovery. Before one can clearly speak to others about human emotions, about values, one must struggle and fight for inner clarity. This means that one needs to saturate oneself with all of the data and all of the emotional attitudes which bear on one's own problems and those of others. Strict ideological dictation will merely force the writer to repress these saturated feelings. In this way, a seeming formal clarity will only multiply the ambiguities in a writer's own consciousness and in his work. This procedure violates the personality of the artist. If you violate an artist's personality, you do not make him truly responsible. The way in which to make the writer more responsible is to struggle toward creating conditions which will help him freely, honestly, rigorously, fearlessly to explore all of the nature of man and all of the conditions of life which bear on what he feels impelled to write. This means that the only moral influence on literature which the politically and socially conscious critic of our time should have is that whereby he helps to imbue writers with more courage so that they will not need the moral influence of anyone but themselves. These truisms need to be stressed again and again, and especially at the present time, when there are new controversies concerning politics and literature, social consciousness and literature.

A truly sharp and clear discussion of the issues involved in these questions would have a salutary educative value for the general reading public: it would equip them to read better, and by reading better they would be able to understand more. The growth of social consciousness is a mere formality if it is not accompanied by a growing need for more culture, for more knowledge, for more education. In other words, not only must the writer feel a need for self-discovery and for greater discovery of his world: so must the reader. But this kind of education through polemics can be gained only if a discussion is carried on—no matter with what sharpness—in terms of clearly defined issues and problems. When a man has a problem of conscience himself, he is not likely to help others significantly until he resolves it. The *New Masses* fiction writers, critics and editors who are now assaulting each other began firing before they made up their minds. They are not sure of what

"Out of the deepest pit of hypocrisy in Franco's Black Spain came the ignorance, savagery and corruption that goes under the name of religion but has in actuality seized upon a great and historic faith and turned it into a cruel parody of itself. Thousands of devout Catholics, knowing that their faith was not bound up with the social and political reaction which had proclaimed itself the Spanish manifestation of their religion, fought on the side of the Republic—particularly among the Basques, where priests battled side by side with laymen. It was their conviction to the death that the name and spirit of their Church had been perverted by a brutal and stupid oligarchy that kept the people in poverty and ignorance for its own material interest, while it hypocritically talked about a Christianity it never practised or understood." —*From* Franco's Black Spain. *Drawings by Luis Quintanilla, with a commentary by Richard Watts Jr. (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3.50.)*

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they are talking about. They know that they detest writers who are their political adversaries, but, then, political denunciation clarifies no theoretical points, either of politics or of literature and its role in society. At the same time, the controversy rages, with all the disputants striving to reveal that they are politically correct. They have their eyes on the party line, and if they fall off it, their literary discoveries will be secondary to the fact that they will be denounced as they now are denouncing.

It is necessary to keep such points in mind because it is more than likely that the issues being discussed in *New Masses* will be taken up in the pages of this and other magazines. Those who are free of the need never to violate a party line can, perhaps, see these issues more clearly, and can contribute to, or read about, such discussion more with the aim of discovering and clarifying, and less from the need to be politically kosher. No theoretical question of any kind can be posed with adequate clarity if one is motivated by fear of making mistakes. And both sides of this controversy in *New Masses* reveal, behind some strong and bold and even violent language, that they are fearful of making mistakes.[1]

JAMES T. FARRELL

The Burden of Normality

The Man Who Watched the Trains Go By, by George Simenon. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 195 pages. $2.50.

SIMENON's new book is a very entertaining and enjoyable novel that moves at a rapid pace toward an unexpected climax. But it is much more than that. It is the saga of the common man, successful and frustrated, contented and covetous, normal but not healthy. The whole story is delicately balanced between psychiatry and common sense.

For sixteen years in the Dutch town of Groningen, Kees Popinga has lived a happy married life, exemplary according to all statistics. There was never a sign that the strain of playing the role was too much for him, except that he liked to watch the trains go by. One day, after he has suddenly learned that the other good citizens, including his boss, have not been following the virtuous path which he had trodden so long and carefully, he throws everything overboard without knowing what he really wants. He desperately wishes to be himself for once in his life and yet he wants to be somebody totally different. He breaks loose from all domestic conventions, civic standards and professional routines. In short, he throws off the burden of normality. Henceforth he becomes an object for diagnosis.

[1] Since this article was written, its conclusions were given confirmation in a second article, "Moving Forward," by Albert Maltz, in *New Masses*, April 9, 1946. Here Maltz confessed his errors with the courage of a Van der Lubbe: he warned all who agreed with his first article to recant and correct their errors; he thanked even his sharpest critics for their attacks on his liquidationist views and for saving him from following a course of literary degeneration; he promised to try not to be guilty of any more errors in the future. In brief, he took back everything he had said in the first article. Maltz now no longer faces a problem of "conscience." He—like the other contributors to this *New Masses* controversy—are free to write in terms of their new clarification. – J. T. F.

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A work of historical importance

Stalin

An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence

by

Leon Trotsky

Charles Malamuth, Editor and Translator

This carefully documented book by Stalin's political opponent—a distinguished scholar and writer—traces Stalin's career from his school days through his rise to power in the Communist Party. Here also is an account of Communist politics during the crucial years when the USSR was establishing itself as a great power.

Two-thirds of the book was finished by Trotsky himself. The final third was completed by his editor and translator, Charles Malamuth, from Trotsky's outline, copious notes, memoranda and partly written pages. In this section the editorial interpolations are set off by brackets from Trotsky's own text.

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Far more convincingly than Andreyev and his modern followers, Simenon raises the question: Is he or is he not?

If all roads lead to Rome, all night trains lead to Paris. And it is there that Popinga finds himself after he has unintentionally killed a girl who made the mistake of laughing when he was serious. A fugitive from justice, he feels innocent and tastes freedom, whereas in his former life, when justice was on his side, he felt guilty and listened to the whistles of the trains.

One of the high points of the story is the episode in which Popinga's wallet and safety razor are stolen by a pickpocket. As long as he has money he is as good as the next man and passes as sane. He can buy hotel rooms, girls and writing paper to write letters to the newspapers. But when all his money is gone, he loses the status of sanity. From then on it is obvious to everyone that he must be a madman. What happens to Popinga in the end is like what happens to many other people who cannot stand this sick world or cannot adjust to it. His mind may not be deranged, but it certainly is derailed. Popinga doesn't know what the Greek term means that the psychiatrists apply to him and the psychiatrists don't understand the person to whom they apply it.

The Man Who Watched the Trains Go By is international in outlook and particularly suited to the present mood and tempo of the American reader. Yet in its clarity, simplicity and psychological insight it is in the best tradition of French writing. I recommend it to those who take their environment too much for granted and to those who have too many doubts about it. It is the story of a flight into reality.

FREDERIC WERTHAM

Homes for the Millions

Breaking the Building Blockade, by Robert Lasch. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 316 pages. $3.

A COPY of this book should be sent to every Representative who voted to emasculate Wilson Wyatt's housing program. They may then perhaps begin to understand that national housing demands precisely the kind of measures opposed by the realty lobby.

Mr. Lasch, who is an editorial writer for the Chicago *Sun*, writes with conviction and understanding. He proves that real-estate booms do not increase the total number of houses. Construction fevers, he shows, usually last long enough to replenish accumulated shortages and do not give better homes to people who really need them. Housing too often follows a hand-me-down cycle in which the poor inherit the abandoned properties of others. And the community pays the bill with slums and increased service costs.

This book offers a sensible program, which unfortunately will not be adopted by legislatures and municipalities. Vested interests and the urge for quick profits are still potent enough to compel a pessimistic prediction. But Mr. Lasch is hopeful. He has little use for independent land subdividers who create sprawling suburbias and force people to shape their lives to standard gridiron patterns. He knows that an adequate housing program must reach those who earn less than $2,000 a year—and that means the majority of the American people.

The barriers, however, seem insuperable. Inflexible costs during slack periods, rising costs during prosperity, industrial disorganization and an almost pathologic fear of technology characterize "an inefficient industry desperately trying to remain inefficient." Yet it is not too difficult to lessen the cost of house-building, says Mr. Lasch. His analysis shows clearly that intelligent financing and amortization and effective use of materials and skills will provide homes that people can afford.

The exposition of the cost problem here is a model of lucid presentation of financial material. It is unqualifiedly recommended to prospective homeowners. The discussion is not restricted to private home-building; the author shows, too, how planned urban redevelopment will give decent housing to those who must live in the heart of Metropolis. But this requires public land assembly, government subsidy, revised building codes and stringent measures to squeeze the inflated values out of urban land.

It can be done if we have the courage and the foresight. Mr. Lasch's program is not a utopian scheme. It is a carefully reasoned plan to build 15 million houses in the next decade; to reduce capital costs to about $3,000 for a good five-room house, including land; to produce sound rental housing at prices that will not play havoc with the household budget; and to clear and rebuild slums and convert them into uncrowded, integrated neighborhoods.

As Mr. Lasch says:

> A man's house has now become a matter of public concern. So long as he can provide it for himself without impairing the rights of others, we leave the problem to him and private enterprise. But when his earning capacity will buy only substandard shelter which is a menace to the community; when unrestrained speculation creates a chaotic Megalopolis injurious to the welfare of all its citizens; when the pursuit of private profit takes place at the expense of the common good—then the people must plan, initiate, induce and control the provision of adequate housing and the building of adequate communities.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Bases of Freedom

Peoples Speaking to Peoples, by Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 122 pages. $2.

THE TITLE of this Report from the Commission on Freedom of the Press might lead the wary to shun it on the ground that it was merely another high-minded exhortation in behalf of the truisms of world amity. On the contrary, it is an expert and detailed account of the problem of international communication on all its levels, with specific recommendations for action. It contains much that will be new even to most well informed readers.

The mechanical agencies have attained an efficiency which far outstrips the preparation to employ them, at least in the United States. In addition to cables, ordinary radio messages and short-wave voice broadcasting, there is now the multiple-address radio newscast, which can convey news dispatches simultaneously to thousands of receivers throughout the world, in printed form. There is the transmission of photographs by radio, and the lightweight plastic matrices which can be sent by air mail at small cost and

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used for prompt reproduction of the printed page at a distance of thousands of miles. If easy physical means of communication were all that is necessary to enhance intimate knowledge of one people by others, international consciousness would soon become a fact. Even in terms of volume, during the war, the combined facilities of the Allies reached seven times as many points as before the war and the quantity of messages was eighteen times greater.

Control of these facilities is, in the United States, divided among five great private companies, four smaller agencies and the government. In Britain, France, Russia and most other foreign nations, mobilization under government will be continued. To describe this situation as a contrast between freedom of communication on our side and governmental control of opinion on the other is to single out one important but not wholly pertinent factor. The private companies have a financial stake in the older and more expensive facilities and are not likely to develop full use of the new ones. News agencies and broadcasting companies are limited by considerations of profit; they have little incentive to extend their services into regions or for purposes which do not promise much sales or advertising revenue. Some sort of merger under public auspices is necessary even to assure adequate use of the facilities at the lowest costs, while governmental participation or subsidy will be required to develop the public service aspects of information which do not offer sufficient profit to the private enterprises.

There is a problem of advancing freedom of the press to obtain news in regions where correspondents are not allowed access to original sources or where censorship is rigorous. As the report points out, however, freedom is an elusive concept which cannot be grasped simply by the absence of governmental interference. Newsmen and publications often want freedom to establish their own monopolies, and indulge in distortions from other motives than those which animate official propaganda. "The consensus of Americans who lived and traveled abroad during the period between the wars seems to be that American movies have hindered more than furthered an understanding of us." Even in such a relatively high-minded occupation as book publishing, our copyright laws constitute a barrier to free interchange.

The quality of information, especially of that originating in the United States, cannot be improved without planning by both private and governmental agencies. Such action as that of the Associated Press and the United Press in denying the State Department further use of their wire services does not help. "The fact that AP and UP regard a few hundred words of news daily as serious competition abroad, although they do not so regard the many thousands broadcast in the United States, suggests the volume of news which they themselves expect to export to those who can pay for it." There must be organization for mass communication on the non-profit level: for news, broadcasts, books, periodicals and movies. This does not necessarily imply, and should carefully exclude, governmental monopoly of communication or official censorship. Accompanying it should be at least a partial merger of the physical facilities with governmental participation or under public control. All this should be linked with the United Nations through UNESCO, the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council, under the leadership of the professional groups concerned.

GEORGE SOULE

5 *men who shaped the ideas of nations*

Out of myths of the past and dreams of the future, national prophets have created ideal fatherlands. No matter how unreal historically or politically, these dream nations shape the policies of real nations and provide the emotional fervor which leads men to fight and die. In his new book, Professor Kohn discusses five nineteenth-century men whose thinking helped to form the national ideals of their peoples. They are:

JOHN STUART MILL, *prophet of English liberalism*

MICHELET, *fervent apostle of the French Revolution*

MAZZINI, *who created the Italian nation from a vague hope in the hearts of men*

TREITSCHKE, *founder of the cult of the hero in Germany*

DOSTOEVSKY, *who roused Russian faith in a semi-Asiatic autocracy*

Hans Kohn is also the author of *The Idea of Nationalism,* which the *New York Times* called "the most brilliant, all-inclusive and incisive analysis of the ideological origins of nationalism which has yet appeared in any language."

Prophets and Peoples

By HANS KOHN

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A Reader's List

Palestine: Problem and Promise, by Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass and Daniel Creamer (Public Affairs Press, $5). The frequently expressed wish for an uncolored report on Palestine is amply fulfilled by this scholarly volume. The product of long study by several of America's leading economists, it covers a vast range of problems in admirably organized fashion. The authors discuss geography and natural resources, agriculture and manufactures, labor and commerce, national income and public finance. They show clearly that Palestine is no longer a charitable enterprise; in fact, wartime experience proved conclusively the country's ability to withstand the strains of a dislocated economy. An important part of the book is the extensive and closely reasoned forecast of future trends. Capital requirements especially are carefully analyzed and the writers estimate that between 615,000 and 1,125,000 Jewish immigrants can be admitted in the next decade. This is no propaganda tract. At times it is critical enough to make Zionists unhappy: the more extravagant official claims are unmercifully deflated. Here is one book that should be read by all who want to know what goes on in the Middle East.

Planning No. 248. Child Health and Nutrition (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* PEP recognizes that parents must ultimately be held responsible for the health care of their children. But in a war-torn society, not all parents have the wherewithal to give their children the surroundings, the food and the medical treatment they need. And few parents have been trained to apply their resources in the best way. Society must consequently introduce comprehensive free medical services, provide milk and lunches in schools and establish nutrition programs for mothers and children. These measures, which include a visiting-nurse program, infant-welfare centers, school medical services, vaccination and hospital care for children, food services and, above all, health education, must not be regarded as schemes to relieve parents of their primary duties; they are rather compensatory devices, the editors say, designed to correct "an ill adjusted balance of social and economic circumstances in favor of parenthood."

Masterworks of Economics, edited by Leonard Dalton Abbott. (Doubleday, $4). Reprinting selections from ten famous economists, this book is the first of a series of digest volumes presenting the main classics in each of the principal fields of knowledge. Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo and Mill represent the classical tradition, while Owen, Marx, Henry George and Veblen are the dissenters. Thomas Mun and Turgot offer examples of pre-classical thinking. Most of the selections are well chosen. Turgot's *Reflection* clearly illustrates the physiocratic affinity for royalty, and the Marx items, taken solely from Volume I of *Capital*, effectively outline the leading ideas of scientific socialism. The Veblen section, however, might have included one or two additional chapters from *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; the theory of institutions and the business v. industry dichotomy are important Veblenian notions. Each section is introduced by an intelligent biographical note: the book is a remarkably good introduction to modern economics.

Adventures of the Mind, by Arturo Castiglioni (Knopf, $4.50). The Navy goat, tattooing of the skin, the animalistic ornaments worn by women are all symbols of man's past need for the powerful allies of magic in his struggle against the dread of this life and its beyond. In all periods man has used amulets, talismans, incantation, divination, evocation and presages when knowledge did not exist or failed to satisfy his anguish or wonderment. To turn to magic it is necessary that critical judgment be suspended, and in crises, in times of stress or tension, men have often suppressed their critical faculties to embrace

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magic. The swastika, the *sieg heil*, the fanfare of the Nuremberg rallies, the mutation of the name of the leader are a few of the signs of the acceptance and use of magic in our day. Significant in this respect was the great increase in the number of astrologers, palmists, fortune-tellers and card-readers which occurred in Nazi Germany, and it may be that the political epidemiologist may be able to use such data as a harbinger of a political epidemic just as the bacterial epidemiologist uses the number of rats in a community as an index to the likelihood of an outbreak of plague. Dr. Castiglioni, a distinguished medical historian now at Yale, has written a fascinating history of magic and its use by both primitive and modern man.

The Craft of Comedy, by Athene Seyler and Stephen Haggard (Theatre Arts, $1.50). This slender volume, already admired in England, consists of a series of letters exchanged between an expert actress and a younger actor who wishes to explore the craft of comedy both for his own sake and that of a young friend about to desert his post in a bank and devote himself to the stage. Of the two authors, Miss Seyler has wider experience in the profession of comedy acting and Mr. Haggard has the more poetic and luminous approach. The response between the two is of a rare quickness, delicacy and taste. Always lightly and, as it were, quite personally, they manage to cover a most varied and significant range of stage esthetics and stage practice. Technique so definitely and candidly considered becomes craft as well; and craft detailed with so much intelligence, choiceness and point becomes also technique; with the final result that the stage theory and the stage body are inseparable, healthy and contagiously alive. It would be hard to say whether the thoughtful layman or the thoughtful actor would get most pleasure and benefit from this little volume. S. Y.

The Fields, by Conrad Richter (Knopf, $2.50). Sayward, or "Saird," as everyone but Portius Wheeler, her Bay State lawyer-husband calls her, is again the heroine of Mr. Richter's new novel. As in *The Trees*, she is oppressed by the gloom of the ruthless forests that swallowed the first Western pioneers. Her battle against the wilderness, shared in by her children (Portius for the most part contented himself with his books), is a simple, poetic and touching story of how the frontier was built.

Crime and Punishment

The Ingenious Mr. Stone, by Robert Player (Rinehart, $2). The mysterious death of Miss Philippa Langdon-Miles, headmistress of Eastern Knoyle School (for Young Ladies), precedes by only a few weeks that of her elder sister, Beatrice. Apparently, the only new element added to the lives of the sisters is the marriage of Beatrice to Harold Warburton—an Australian pianist of rather enigmatic antecedents. Enter Mr. Stone, a private investigator. Through his offices the murders are explained in a leisurely, intermittently interesting and very British job.

Benefit Performance, by Richard Sale (Simon and Schuster, $2). Kerry Garth, movie idol, takes a sudden vacation and prevails on his stand-in, Josh Barnes, to sub for him at a Hollywood première. Josh is promptly murdered, practically under the marquee. So Kerry's friend and press agent, figuring the best way to save Kerry's life is to let it be assumed he is dead, persuades Kerry to return and masquerade as Josh. Curious and unsavory things immediately begin to happen, and eventually lead to another death. An exciting and ingenious piece of work.

The House in Lordship Lane, by A. E. W. Mason (Dodd, Mead, $2). Hanaud, of the Paris Sureté, returns in fine form to solve the tricky problem of the death of Daniel Horbury, Member of Parliament and blackmailer extraordinary. Some assistance is supplied by Hanaud's old friend Ricardo and by Superintendent Maltby of Scotland Yard, but it is the French-

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man's show all the way. And a neat case it is, complete with World War II overtones (Egyptian Division).

Hangman's Hill, by Franklyn Pell (Dodd, Mead, $2). The annual Red Badge Mystery Award winner breaks new ground, for Mr. Pell's plot is concerned with war correspondents accredited to US Army headquarters in Alsace during the invasion. Tom Grange, of Consolidated Features, is not too popular with his colleagues, but when he is murdered (by hand grenade) while observing a minor local action, Larry Shanahan, ex-police reporter, takes a hand in the investigation. With the aid of G-2, he turns up a black market in American money which holds the key to the crime. Only fair as detection but recommended for its Army public-relations background. E. H.

New Republic News

Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet war correspondent and writer, lunched with the staff this week. Mr. Ehrenburg has a massive head and gray-brown, unruly hair. Since he speaks French the off-the-record conversation was tri-lingual. One of our younger (female) staff members was so excited that she tried to smoke one of his Russian cigarettes backwards. The cardboard tube, she reports, burned slightly better than the Russian tobacco in the other end.

• • •

Although *Tide*, the advertising trade magazine, reports a drastic slump in magazine newsstand sales—in some cases unsold copies run as high as 70 to 80 percent of the number on sale—the *New Republic* circulation continues at an all-time high. We have been getting letters from would-be buyers who have been told "All sold" after checking with three or four newsstands. We suggest they follow the example of many of their former fellow hikers by sending us $5 for a year's subscription.

• • •

Derso and Kelen keep confusing us. Bright and early Mr. Kelen will come into the *NR* office with rough sketches for their "Yeomen of the Peace" series. "Where's Mr. Derso?" we ask. "In bed," is the answer. Then, during the middle of the same afternoon, Mr. Derso comes in with the finished drawings under his arm. "Where's Mr. Kelen?" we want to know. "In bed," he answers. It must be the housing shortage.

• • •

Editor Michael Straight is now in London on a ten-day visit. New York *NR* readers, by the way, can hear him over radio station WLIB on his weekly "Straight Talk" news program every Friday night from seven to seven fifteen.

• • •

William Jay Smith has been released from active duty with the Navy and has just returned home to St. Louis. He was recently awarded the Young Poets Prize for 1945 by *Poetry*. His work has also appeared in Oscar Williams' anthology, *The War Poets*, published last year by John Day.

Albert Parry is the author of several books on Russia and a lecturer on foreign affairs. This summer he will serve as associate professor in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University.

James T. Farrell's new novel, *Bernard Clare*, is to be published by Vanguard on May 13. Also to be published this spring, by New Directions, is a pamphlet, *The Fate of Writing in America*, which deals with the writer and the publishing business in present-day America.

Frederic Wertham, director of the Psychiatric Service of Queens General Hospital and president of the Association for the Advancement of Psychotherapy, has recently organized the Lafargue Clinic, in Harlem, to give free psychiatric aid.

Ben B. Seligman, formerly a commodity analyst for the OPA and for a while managing editor of *Labor and the Nation*, is now doing economic research on the Middle East and Palestine. He has contributed articles and reviews to *Commentary* and *Tomorrow*.

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